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fellowship

MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

neither run nor hide

THE CASE AGAINST CIVIL DEFENSE

by Alfred Hassler

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Salvador de Madariaga & Jayaprakash Narayan } A WORLD PEACE GUARD

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Fellowship

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

CUBA

The small-scale invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro forces collapsed as unexpectedly as it had begun, leaving a shaken world to try to pick up the pieces. U.S. Government spokesmen hurried to deny that we had played any part in the adventure, but their words had a hollow ring for those who had been reading of training camps in Florida, recruiting posts in New York, and CIA agents organizing, training and financing the enterprise.

It is early to say with any degree of certainty, but it does not appear that the disaster to the exiles will lead to any appreciable reduction in tension. Our government seems to have accepted completely the assumptions that (a) the Castro government is the captive of Sino-Soviet communism, and (b) there is no way to deal with the situation except through the overthrow of the Castro government. Since it now seems unlikely that the exiles are strong enough, even with American aid, to accomplish this, the danger of direct intervention becomes very great.

Several items of great significance were revealed during the 72 hours of the invasion, and hopefully will be taken to heart:

¶ Many journalists and highly placed government officials had obviously come to take at or near face value the exiles' optimistic predictions of a wholesale uprising of the Cubans as soon as the arrival of the "liberators" would give the signal. This ran directly contrary to the judgment of some very well-informed observers whose warnings were largely limited in publication to the small, independent magazines. There was, of course, no uprising, and the wistful belief that most Cubans have turned against their government is shown to have no basis in fact.

¶ The inclusion in the combined exile command of Manuel Ray, who is described as wanting to retain the social gains of the Castro revolution while getting rid of Castro himself, was rumored to have occurred only at the insistence of the U.S., and has been cynically described as a sugar-coating for the more right-wing elements in the group. *The New York Times* on April 20 disclosed that Ray and his associates knew nothing of the invasion plans until the assault had begun.

Two days after the invasion began, NBC's UN commentator, Pauline Fredericks, observed that the United States had lost in world prestige in two days more than it had gained in the past three months. It is devoutly to be hoped that we will begin the painful process of regaining that lost prestige by renouncing all military intervention in Cuba and submitting the entire dispute to the United Nations for mediation.

THE CUBANS

It is so easy to be seduced by the ubiquitous commentators and editorialists into a somehow bloodless, depersonalized discussion of something like the Cuban dispute: to talk of it in terms of forces and ideologies and even of personalities, while forgetting the *persons* who are so painfully and innocently the victims. But how tragic is the lot of the Cubans themselves who rejoiced in the promise of the revolution: land, education, decent wages, and who now find themselves the pawns of power, caught between the terrible millstones of the cold war! How sad must be the plight of those in the Cuban government, perhaps even including Castro himself, whose brave hopes and plans have somehow been devoured by the violence of the revolution. How sorrowful the days of those who had to flee from their own country to take refuge in another land, to dream of return only through the instrumentality of more violence, more war, more death.

"We appeal to the policy-making agencies of our government," said the FOR

National Council last month, "to consider whether the policies of retaliation, harassment, the severing of diplomatic relationships, cutting off trade, and military intervention have worked so well in man's history as to warrant our recourse to them at this juncture, or whether this is now a highly appropriate instance in which to turn to practical use those nobler attributes of man which are expressed in sympathy, forgiveness and a selfless concern for the well-being of our brother men."

FOOTNOTE ON CUBA

A recent Miami dispatch to the *New York Post* warned that Haiti might well be the next Caribbean republic to go Communist, "or at least violently anti-American." The presence of a U.S. Marine mission in Haiti is a "potentially explosive factor," writes Daniel James, since "the Haitians remember with bitterness that the Marines occupied their country from 1915 to 1934, and now they see them training an army whose primary function is to prop up a hated dictatorship."

The United States has given Haiti about $70 million since 1950 in order to stimulate economic development, but "most of the money . . . has found its way into the insatiable maw of the army and [dictator] Duvalier's friends." The average per capita income of the 4 million Haitians is about $60 per year.

BIRCH

You have to hand it to the Communists. Even though there may be very few of them left in this country, they're still in there using their heads every minute. Look how they thought up this clever idea of organizing the John Birch Society. You have to hand it to them: it was one of the smartest things they ever did!

First, it completely obscures the real issues that distinguish Communists from believers in democracy. If Eisenhower, Dulles and Warren were and are agents of the Communist conspiracy, then who on earth is to tell what is and isn't Communist?

Second, it demonstrates to the uncommitted part of the world that any alleged differences are purely hypocritical propaganda. By espousing exactly the same techniques of spying, informing, smearing and suppression as do the Communists, the Society robs the country of its proudest base for counterattack.

Finally, it makes the country look ridiculous. Who is likely to respect the antics of a country whose citizens are busily trying to impeach their Chief Justice for living in the twentieth century?

Yes, sir, those Communists are smart!

EICHMANN

The trial of Adolf Eichmann, going on as this is written, is a profoundly depressing spectacle. Nothing about it is so evident as its futility. What can the trial hope to achieve? Not one of the victims will be brought back to life, of course. Not a moment of the agonies of the dead or their living survivors will be assuaged.

What then? Punishment? Vengeance? The words are empty. Man has the capacity neither to inflict nor to receive punishment appropriate to the murder of more than six million human beings. Whatever is done to Adolf Eichmann by way of punishment will be ashes in the mouths even of those who thirst most for vengeance. It cannot be anything but anti-climax, even though it were to be the most unthinkable torture. No man carries the capacity to suffer for six million.

What more? Will the trial and the sentence persuade Eichmann, or those like him, of the evil of their ways? Will the discovery that the consciences of the Jewish people were outraged by his unspeakable deeds, or that their outrage has lasted sixteen years, be a new element in his thinking? Will the fact that the shoe of power is on another foot convince him, or anyone, that the indiscriminate use of power is wrong?

Few have shown great pleasure in the prospect of the trial of Adolf Eichmann, but many have said that it will be a good thing to remind the world of what the Nazis did, of the terrible inhumanity of killing innocent, harmless, helpless people.

There is no greater irony than this. If the people of the world need reminding today, it is not the faintly gratifying reminder of the desperately evil deeds of the dispersed villains of two decades ago, but of their own connivance in preparing for even greater slaughter in the future. Can

he well-dressed young men who commute ach day from their pleasant ranch houses o the laboratories at Detrick to contrive erms and poisons to be dropped on sleep- ng cities really be reminded of anything y the Eichmann trial? Can nations whose eople support the stockpiling of H-bombs, nd whose experts talk in terms of "mega- odies" repent for the evils of the gas vens? Repentance begins at home; he can- ot sit in judgment who is guilty, even if nly in his planning, of crimes of even reater enormities.

The Eichmann trial will turn no new age in the world's spotted book of vio- ence and vengeance; its judgment can be o more than an inconspicuous footnote to he scrawled obscenities of Auschwitz and Dachau and Buchenwald. There is only one punishment that would be appropriate to the crimes of Adolf Eichmann, and it is beyond our capacities—ours or Israel's—to impose. Forgiveness is the only punishment whose dimensions would fit the crime. Its infliction might well be more than even Eichmann could bear, and might release into the stream of history a dynamic so powerful as to alter that stream's whole course. But this is too much for most of us, convulsed with horror by the remem- brance of this man's deeds, even to dare to contemplate.

THE CHURCH AND WAR

The growing concern of churchmen for the impossible moral situation in which a Christian finds himself in condoning nu- clear war is illustrated by the latest word on "A Christian Approach to Nuclear War." This little pamphlet, drafted for the Church Peace Mission by FOR-Secre- tary Emeritus A. J. Muste and circulated by CPM and FOR, is in the process of be- ing reprinted once more after having gone through editions totalling 20,000 copies. More than 800 clergymen have so far ex- pressed their endorsement of the pamphlet's position.

TWO FOOTNOTES ON CD

An attractive 22-year-old nurse, chosen to be the inhabitant of a sealed-in fallout shelter for a week-long "test" in Baltimore because she had the "most even disposition" of fifty volunteers, broke down and cried on the third day because she could not make a telephone call. She was reported also to have had a day-long headache and "shown other signs of distress."

At the annual meeting of the Associated Church Press, of which FELLOWSHIP is a member, we listened to a talk by Maj. Gen. Marshall Stubbs, Chief Chemical Of- ficer of the U.S. Army, who is seeking re- ligious support for the use of CBR weapons as a "deterrent" just like the present nu- clear "deterrent."

At question time, we asked the General, among other things, if it would be possible for an enemy, following a nuclear attack, to use gas or germs to wipe out those survivors who managed to take refuge in bomb shelters. The General replied that it would, unless shelters were equipped with special ventilation filters. Any leakage, we gather, could be fatal.

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A WORLD PEACE GUARD

BY SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA
AND
JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

THE QUESTION of a world army or police force keeps recurring in world affairs since the days of the League of Nations, when Lord Davies became its chief exponent and advocate. That such a question is being debated at all is an encouraging proof of the progress of world opinion toward a fuller awareness of the moral solidarity of men and nations.

On a close examination, however, it reveals perhaps an insufficient analysis of the underlying facts. An army rests on a moral solidarity far more advanced than that which nowadays obtains between nations. The world is today split into roughly three groups: 1) Communist; 2) Christian-liberal-Socialist; 3) Non-committed. The first two are separated by an unbridgeable political abyss, but (and this is a crucial point) even if this abyss came to be bridged over, the nations that compose each of the three groups would still remain separated by political ditches wide enough to bar the way to that normal solidarity without which an army is unthinkable. Indeed, the opinion might be ventured that if the abyss opened by Communism were to disappear, the ditches dug by nationalism would become larger.

In these circumstances, any military force raised under seemingly international auspices is bound to arouse suspicion. The army put together under the banner of the United Nations to intervene in Korea was considered at the time by groups 1 and 3 as an army of group 2 acting against group 1, and in actual fact so it was. Similar psychological difficulties are bound to arise in other cases, flavored and colored, of course, as time and place would determine. This was shown in the case of the force supplied by a number of nations under the UN to resolve the Suez crisis.

The idea that such difficulties would be surmounted if a standing police force were put at the disposal of the UN Secretary General would appear to be unduly optimistic. Given the present lack of moral solidarity among nations, the Secretary General would never be in a position to use his force. The idea of a police force is born of the old error that the League of Nations failed because it did not have enough military power to enforce its decisions; while the fact was that the League never took a decision enforceable by its military power, which was formidable enough since it included all the important armed forces in the world except those of the United States and of the particular state that happened to be breaking the covenant (Italy or Japan were the most formidable). Failure to maintain peace is not likely to be due to lack of unanimity among states as to which is the party in the wrong in the conflict and how to deal with the trouble.

In these circumstances, any injection of power in a conflict which in itself will be due to power will but render the conflict more complicated; even though this newly injected power will operate under UN colors; for, through the UN, the trend

rejudice or policy of those who have succeeded in putting the UN machinery in notion will be clearly discerned.

Are we then to give up the idea of an nternational police altogether? Possibly ot. The way out would appear to lie in a ew approach more in conformity with the pirit of the UN Charter. Like the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Charter ims at relying on discussion instead of orce for the settlement of international lisputes. There would appear, therefore, to e a singular lack of consistency in expecting the United Nations to solve disputes y armed force—whether the use of such orce be punitive as in so-called military anctions or preventive by means of an nternational armed force.

It follows that an international police hould be unarmed. The presence of a body of regular Peace Guards intervening with no weapons whatsoever between two forces combating or about to combat might have considerable effect. They would not be there as a fanciful improvisation, but as the positive and practical application of a previously negotiated and ratified Charter binding all UN members. This Charter should insure:

1. Inviolability of the Peace Guards.
2. Their right to go anywhere at any time from the day they had been given an assignment by the UN.
3. Their right to intervene in any conflict of any nature when asked by one or both of the parties involved, or by a third party.

The Peace Guard would be parachutists. They should be able to stop advancing armies by refusing to move from roads, railways or airfields. They would be empowered to act in any capacity their chiefs might think adequate for the situation, though they would never use force. They should be endowed with a complete system for recording and transmitting facts, such as TV cameras and broadcasting material. Their uniform should be simple, clear and appealing (for instance, white with insignia based on the rainbow colors).

The setting up of this institution would, no doubt, be delicate; the Additional Charter would be difficult to negotiate. Who would launch the action of the Guards? The Secretary General should have a permanent power to do so on his own initiative. It seems at any rate that in the negotiations the chief difficulty—fear and mistrust of power—would have been eliminated and the nations that would oppose the scheme would lose much face. (As an example, if a few thousands of such Peace Guards had been parachuted into Budapest during the five or six days Hungary was free, the outcome of that struggle might have been quite different.)

BEATEN BACK TO BASICS

Beaten back to basics
To the old settlements
Behind the impalings of fear
The crossbows and the muskets
Pop their pleasantries
To screen boarding invades—
The sunshiny deaths around
Do not compel an instant of regret

Is scalping the one currency
That buys security?
And gold the only creed
That can trumpet out
A cavalry of rescue?

—Carl Seaburg

A Children's Bill of Rights

The following pages are the product of a year-long project of a sixth-grade class at Roger Sherman School, New Haven, Connecticut. According to Robert L. Kaplan, acting secretary, age 11, "We have done this because we care." This Bill of Rights is addressed to lawmakers the world over. We publish it here because we believe it is addressed not only to lawmakers but to every citizen of every country—wherever there are children.

—The Editors

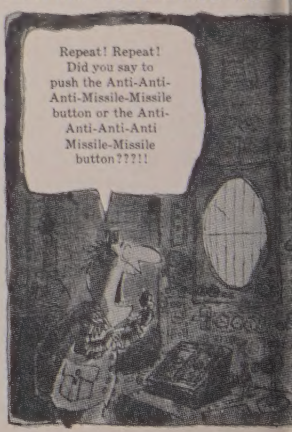
A Bill of Rights for Children the World Over

I. LOVE. Every child needs love. Without love, children would suffer despair. Their health would also suffer. Love gives children a feeling of wanting to do things better.

1. Therefore, every child should be loved regardless of creed, color, sex, nationality, or occupation of parents.
2. Every responsible adult should be concerned about all children. Every child should have some adult with whom he may discuss his problems.
3. Children who are orphaned should be protected and cared for by adults who would treat them kindly.
4. Adults should treat children fairly if they want children to respect them.
5. Some parents like one child better than the others. If so, they should treat all the other children in the family the same.
6. If parents show love for their children, children should return this love with gratitude. Children should help in every possible way voluntarily and when asked.
7. Teachers must respect children, understand them and let the children know that they are loved. Children should respect their teachers. They should feel that teachers are their friends. Children should cooperate so that there will be a happy atmosphere in the classroom. Children and teachers will be able to work together better.
8. Every child should be given something to love and care for so that he can assume responsibility.
9. Every child should have the joy of planting and watching live things grow.

II. HEALTH. Every child is entitled to the kinds of living conditions that will produce good health. Six hundred million of the world's nine hundred million children are unhealthy because of lack of prop-

NEARLY AUTOMATIC WARF


Repeat! Repeat! Did you say to push the Anti-Anti-Anti-Missile-Missile button or the Anti-Anti-Anti-Anti Missile-Missile button?????

food, clothing, shelter and medical help. sia with more than half of the world's opulation has less than one-fifth of the orld's food. Western Europe, North merica and the USSR compose one-third f the world's population, but they con-ume three-quarters of the world's food. he "have" nations should share more enerously their blessings with the "have ot" nations. In the world today there is ot enough tillable land to feed, clothe, nd shelter all the people in the world. he U.S. Department of Agriculture says hat each person requires 2.5 acres of good nd to provide for his physical needs. oday there are only 1.6 acres of tillable nd for each person, but this land is not venly distributed. Almost 1.5 billion acres f new land could be brought into use. cientists should explore the vegetation nd fish of the seas to increase food sup-olies. In another 25 years the world's popu-ation will be almost doubled. Animals for ood will be more scarce. We will have to urn to the sea for most of our food.

1. Every child should have enough to eat.
2. He should have proper clothing according to the climate and weather.
3. Everyone should have adequate shelter. Slums should be redeveloped into properly equipped houses with play areas on green grass.
4. Medicine should be distributed by governments where needed. If governments cannot afford to do this, the United Nations should do so. People who can afford to pay for themselves should do so.
5. Countries who have an excess of doctors should let volunteers go to countries in need of doctors. These doctors should receive an extra degree from the UN. Education for doctors and nurses should be free in every country so that there will be enough doctors. There are 900,000 doctors in the world, but we need twice as many. We need more nurses and trained helpers.
6. Children and adults should be taught to practice cleanliness.
7. Children and adults should be taught how to control pollution of water.
8. They should be taught that various insects carry various diseases, and learn how to protect themselves by spraying with proper insecticides. The "have" governments should give insecticides to the "have not" people, because they do not have factories and the materials to produce these chemicals. The United Nations should send experts who know how to speak the local language out into the villages to instruct the people in the use of these medicines.
9. There should be hospital facilities for all people who need them. Some of these could be traveling hospitals.

III. EDUCATION. More than one-half the world's population of 2½ billion don't know how to read and write. If all people

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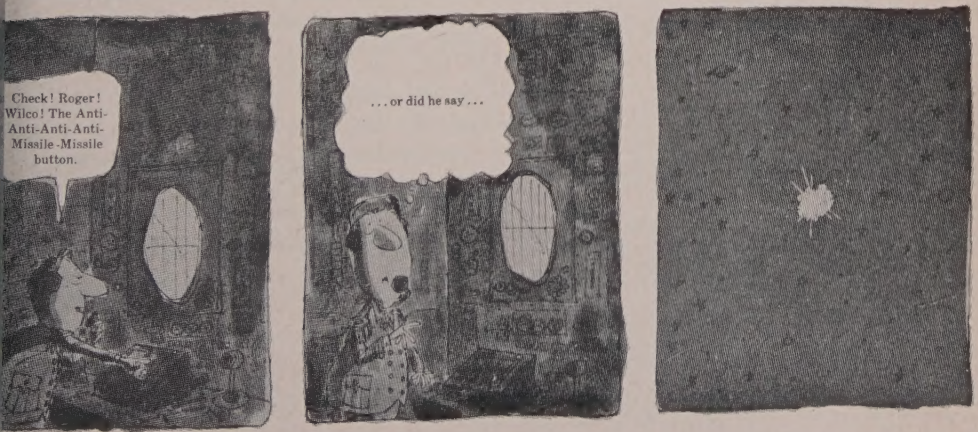


knew how to read and write, they would be more prosperous. They could read and write directions. With proper tools they would be able to work better and make more products. They would learn how to practice good health habits. They would know about other people. Perhaps people would understand each other better. Other countries could not take advantage of them. They would know how to defend themselves. They would get more enjoyment out of life by knowing how to read and write. People need an education to run their own government well. We are living in an atomic age. People need to know much more about science. As the population of the world multiplies, it will be much harder to earn a living. We will have to discover new ways of saving and using our natural resources. For this we will need people who have an education and scientific imaginations. To survive, people will have to learn about the well-being of others. That is why we are concerned with children the world over, not just ourselves.

1. Therefore every child should be taught how to read and write.
2. No child should be denied the chance to receive an education.
3. Every child should be given the chance to develop all of his abilities.
4. Every child should be taught about the world and its peoples, and their problems.
5. Every child should be taught how to work with his hands as well as his mind.
6. Every child should be taught not only facts, but also *how* to think for himself and express his opinion.
7. Every child should have the right to play for physical development and for pure pleasure.
8. Children should not be overworked to help support a family.
9. No one should be permitted to take advantage of children.
10. No one should interfere with the child's time for learning.
11. Each country should provide many kinds of education according to its way of life. Their standards of education should be developed according to the progress of the world.
12. Every child should have the opportunity of a free education through college, if he qualifies.
13. All people should be permitted to worship as they please without interference. In school every child should be taught to respect each other's beliefs.
14. All people should be taught *about* other religious beliefs in the world so that people may understand different ways of thinking, different customs and many kinds of wisdom.
15. Everyone should have equal rights because no one race is superior to any other. Everyone should have equal rights to a full education according to his abilities. With proper education harmful prejudices could be abolished.
16. No child should be permitted to call any other child insulting names. Ridicule should not be permitted in any classroom. This should be a standard of citizenship for adults too.

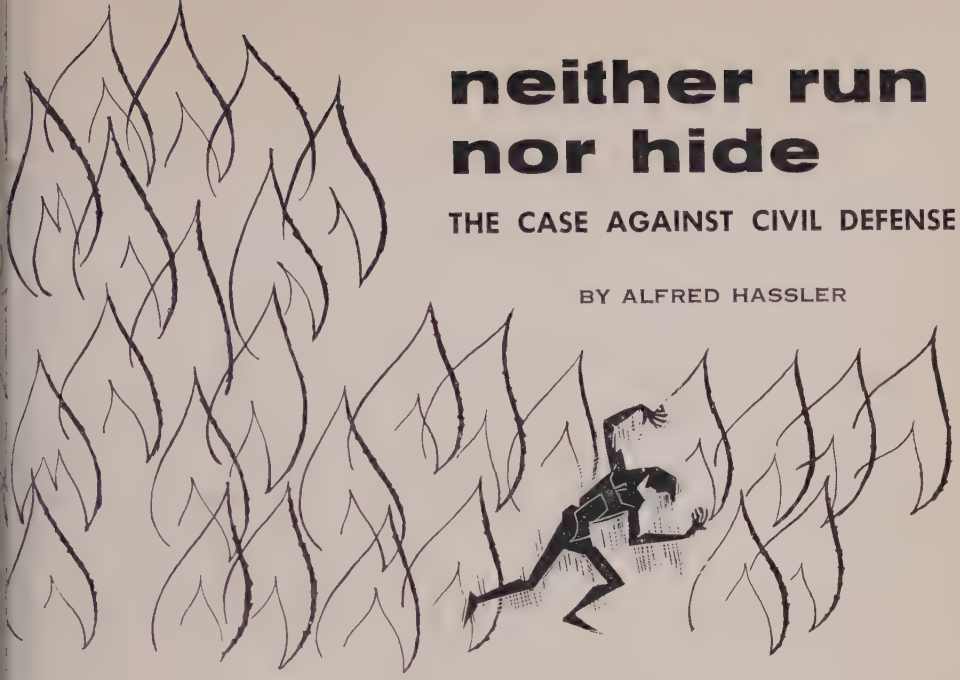
CONCLUSION

In our classroom we are a class family. Three religions and three races are represented. All the children work together, play together and visit each other's homes. We help each other.

This is the way we would like life to be. In our classroom this is our daily life. We wish that the outside world would enjoy our freedom.

You, the adults of the world and heads of governments, are responsible for our safety, our lives. Children never started wars. Adults did, but children suffer the most from them.

If our Declaration is to reach all the children of the world there must be global peace.



neither run nor hide

THE CASE AGAINST CIVIL DEFENSE

BY ALFRED HASSLER

OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS more than a billion tax dollars, tons of printed materials and many thousands of man hours have gone into the variety of activities lumped under the general heading of "Civil Defense." It is doubtful that anyone feels any significant degree of satisfaction with the results.

Officials charged with setting up and administering the CD system on national, state and local levels complain of "inadequate" appropriations and bemoan the "apathy" of the public. Some of their critics, no less convinced than they of the need for an effective form of civil defense, charge that the present structure is poorly conceived and inefficiently administered. Others maintain that the whole concept of CD is unrealistic, and see the "apathy" of the public as evidence of the good sense of the average citizen.[1] Parents and teachers worry about the psychological effect on young children of repeated "duck and cover" drills in many of the nation's schools, while other quite respectable citizens are so hostile to the entire CD idea that they court arrest and imprisonment through open refusal to obey instructions to "take cover" during one or more of CD's public "drills."

There is considerable evidence that a renewed effort is under way to "sell" Civil Defense to the American public. Some enthusiasts have even proposed introducing the element of compulsion into the picture, as happened in New York when Governor Nelson Rockefeller requested legislation that would require every homeowner in the state to build a fallout shelter.

If an effective form of civil defense really *is* important to the survival of the country and its people, then there may be justification for such emphasis and the

1 "One of the nicest things you can say about the American people is that they don't take Civil Defense seriously. . . . Two of the [pacifists arrested for refusing to obey CD orders] have a long and honorable history of getting arrested for doing what ought to be done but no one else dares to do. In meekly running to cover, the rest of us have only compounded the dishonesty of a Civil Defense program that is neither serious nor safe."—Editorial in *Harper's Magazine*, October 1955.

enormous expenditures of money and energy it will require. If that is not the case —if, as many critics charge, CD is no more than a gigantic and irrelevant boondoggle —then the tremenodus waste that would be involved in such a program should be avoided and the money and effort diverted into more productive channels.

The Case FOR Civil Defense

THE "REASONS" FOR Civil Defense are obvious and simply stated.

(1) There is great tension in the world between the Communist nations and the West. Despite our best hopes, that tension may reach its climax in a major war between the two blocs. The existence of bombing planes and guided missiles of intercontinental range means that the oceans that formerly protected the United States from direct attack no longer do so. Since, therefore, we are vulnerable it is only ordinary good sense to make such preparations as we can to reduce the dimensions of the disaster and to save as many lives as possible.

(2) The very knowledge that an effective system of Civil Defense exists in this country will become an added deterrent to any nation that contemplates attacking us. Since the whole idea of military defense is wrapped up in the concept of deterrence—"each side will be afraid to hit the other because of the danger of being destroyed itself"—the prospect that a large part of our population might survive to retaliate will lessen the possibility of an attack.*

The Case AGAINST Civil Defense

THE ARGUMENT *against* Civil Defense does not minimize the dangers of war. Indeed, it is precisely the extent of that danger and the nature of the cataclysm that nuclear war would be, that accounts for the strenuous opposition to CD. The case for that opposition also may be summed up in two points:

(1) The plans for Civil Defense are entirely unrealistic when measured against the nature of thermonuclear war. The stark fact is that "there is no defense," as innumerable military, political and scientific authorities have reiterated in one way or another. The moment such a war begins, we have all lost. The extent of the destruction and the nature of the weapons are such as literally to make it impossible to prepare to meet or survive it. Even the attempt to make such preparations, on a scale that would have any relevance at all, would mean so vast an expenditure of money and so extensive a change in our entire way of life as to mean that we should have lost the struggle before it ever reached the point of war.

(2) The psychological effects of a massive CD effort would be more likely to

* In their eagerness to justify their jobs and organization, some CD officials have argued that CD deserves support as a form of civilian mobilization to counteract natural disasters such as floods, hurricanes, earthquakes, and the like. This is an entirely illegitimate argument, of course. While local CD units have occasionally been mobilized for such purposes, CD no more exists for such reasons than the Army exists for the purpose of deepening rivers and harbors, though it does carry on such activities. In areas where natural disasters are likely to occur, there may be a good case for a volunteer civilian disaster relief group, but preparations for a tornado in Kansas do not include requiring New York and California school children to cower against the wall, or citizens of Portland and Boston to practice mass evacuation of their cities. The case for or against Civil Defense should not be beclouded by such irrelevant arguments, but should stick to the central reason for CD's existence.

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neither run nor hide is available as a 15¢ reprint (10 copies: $1.25; 100 copies: $10). It is the latest in a series of vital reprints distributed by the Fellowship of Reconciliation as part of its work for peace. In addition to other reprints from FELLOWSHIP, the series includes significant articles from such magazines as *The Christian Century, The Christian Herald, Motive, United Church Herald, The Progressive* and other periodicals. Copies of **NEITHER RUN NOR HIDE** and a list of other reprints are available from:

Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

ighten the tension and so increase the nger of war than the reverse. To a sus- cious "enemy" it would look like prepara- ons for an attack, and it would strengthen our own minds the kind of resignation the "inevitability" of war that is one of e factors endangering peace. Moreover, we should not overlook the psychological damage being done to young children whose minds are filled with vague but frightening apprehensions, of whose nature many parents already have had alarming indications.

Now let us consider these arguments in more detail.

The Nature of Nuclear War

So MANY MILLIONS of words have een written about H-bombs, biological eapons, and guided missiles that it would em unnecessary to spend any further ace discussing the nature of the war for hich Civil Defense is ostensibly prepar- ng. Yet it is precisely the failure of CD to ckon realistically with these facts that akes its program so pathetically and hope- ssly inadequate.

Hamburg and Hiroshima. In the spring of 943, between 800 and 900 planes of the oyal Air Force bombed the German city f Hamburg, with two million population, epeatedly over a period of ten nights. hen they had finished, the main section f the city had been utterly demolished, ith huge buildings reduced to rubble, treets lost in the ruins, essential services nded. Though Hamburg had the most ad- anced air-raid shelters in Europe, and its itizens were warned, some 70,000 died in he raids. Eye-witnesses from Swiss and wedish newspapers reported how the im- mense heat of the bombs had created literal ivers of fire that swept through the streets, sucking the oxygen out of the deepest cel- lars, so that even those who had found shel- ter died of asphyxiation, their bodies char- red by the intense heat.[2] The RAF planes that bombed Hamburg were equipped with the famous "blockbuster" bombs of World War II, each one containing a ton of high explosives.

In August 1945, a single American plane dropped a single atomic bomb to explode in the air above the Japanese city of Hiro- shima. It demolished the city and killed an estimated 100,000 people. *It carried a destructive force almost exactly twice the total that the hundreds of British planes had managed to drop on Hamburg over a ten-night period!*

In 1952 a test was carried out in the Marshall Islands by the United States of an H-bomb of 15 "megatons." It vaporized an island twelve miles long and left in its place a hole in the ocean floor a mile long and 175 feet across.[3]

That one 1952 bomb was the equivalent in explosive force to 15 million blockbusters. It was sixteen to seventeen times more powerful than all of the bombs dropped by both sides during the entire six years of World War II. Had the Hamburg bombers of the RAF undertaken to drop on that city the equivalent of that single bomb, they would have had to continue to fly at the same rate, carrying blockbusters, for forty-two years!

Leipzig and Los Angeles. No city has ever been struck by an H-bomb, so we have had no direct example of what would happen. The bombs that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki were each about one five-hundredth the explosive power of the 10-megaton H-bomb that is frequently used by experts in discussing a nuclear war.[4] Consequently, we must try to project from the experiences we know about to the cataclysm we seek to avert.

The blast effects of a 10-megaton bomb "would exterminate virtually all but the most deeply sheltered living things within

2 *The Night Hamburg Died*, by Martin Caidin. Also "Massacre by Bombing," by Vera Brittain, FELLOWSHIP, March 1944.

3 *Radiation*, by Schubert and Lapp (Viking, 1957).

4 H-bombs now range up to 20 megatons. A bomb this size can be carried by a B-52 bomber. Intercontinental missiles now in existence or being built will be able to carry up to 5 or 10 megaton warheads. *Community of Fear*, by Harrison Brown and James Real (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif., 1960), p. 13.

a radius of five miles. Blast casualties would be severe up to a distance of ten miles."[5] But the phenomenon that has had relatively little attention in public discussions of such an attack is the resulting "fire storm" such as the "rivers of fire" that swept through Hamburg. What such things mean is indicated by an account of the aftermath of the World War II raid on the German city of Leipzig, of approximately the scale of the Hamburg attack, written by German fire engineer Hans Rumpf:[6]

> Such a species of natural phenomenon as this can alter the properties of the atmosphere so that organic life is no longer possible therein and ceases. . . . The single fires join, the heated air shoots upward as if in a giant chimney. The fresh air, sucked and rushing along the ground, creates a hurricane which in its turn fans the smaller fires and draws them into its course. The effects of such a hot column of air from a giant torch over a burning city were felt by flyers up to 13,000 feet in the air and described as stormy and unpleasant. . . . Whoever has not himself experienced a firestorm will find it difficult to get a true picture from a description. At its edge are the conditions of a heavy storm. The roofs of trucks fly off, people's coats are pulled over their heads, those not standing firmly are knocked down. Approximately 2½ miles from the edge of such a fire, a weather station has measured a wind velocity of 34 miles per hour which increased rapidly as one neared the fire area.

"One Great Sea of Fire"

Harrison Brown and James Real have attempted to describe what such a phenomenon would mean to an American city in a nuclear war, taking Los Angeles as an example. (The reader should bear in mind that the description is based on the assumption that the city has been hit by a *single* 10-megaton bomb, and that the probability is that in a struggle so desperate as all-out nuclear war, major cities would be hit by several bombs, rather than one.)

> The area would be one great sea of fire, which would burn until there was nothing more to consume. A good proportion of the metropolitan area's three-and-a-half million cars and trucks would be lifted and thrown like grotesque Molotov cocktails, to spew flaming gasoline, oil, and automotive shrapnel onto and into everything in their paths. In an instant most underground gasoline and oil tanks would rupture and explode within the blast area, and a large proportion of the remainder within the firestorm radius would follow, each in its own particular manner—pumps and pipes sheered and, finally, higher and higher ambient temperatures which would soon expand, rupture, and explode the remainder. It seems safe to speculate that in Los Angeles at least a twenty-five mile radius and an unknown distance beyond it would be, within minutes, engulfed in a suffocating firestorm that would persist for a long time.[7]

It is worth remarking the significant sentence with which Brown and Real conclude their account:

"Rationally, were we to make vigorous efforts to survive a large-scale nuclear war, *we would forget about our existing cities, reconcile ourselves to the loss of their inhabitants, and concentrate our efforts in other areas.*"

No Hiding Place

Perhaps the Brown-Real warning has been read by their fellow Californian Allan Jonas, director of that state's CD office, who was described in a California newspaper as having "suddenly decided that all planning is of questionable value." Mr. Jonas was quoted as saying, "There is no hiding place in California."[8]

The Computer and the Air Force. Enough similar hair-raising examples of the effects of an H-bombing of cities could be added to fill a sizable book. Let the Air Force and its electronic computers complete the story.

Staff writer Richard Fryklund reported on a recent Air Force "re-examination of basic policies" with the aid of a computer, in a series of nine articles in the *Washington* (D.C.) *Star* titled "100 Million Lives."[9]

Fryklund explains that the "re-examination" was of the assumption that American targets in the event of all-out war would be Russian cities, with American cities being marked for similar destruction by the Russians. Date of the "war" was assumed to be June 1963.

"The computer exercises were played again and again," wrote Fryklund, "varying the facts and assumptions." Sometimes it was assumed that Russia struck first; sometimes the United States. *In the former case,*

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5 Ibid, p. 15.

6 *Der Hochrote Hahn* (Darmstadt, 1952). See "Mass Fires following Nuclear Attack" by A. Broido, *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, December 1960.

7 op. cit., p. 15.

8 Oakdale (Calif.) *Leader*, Jan. 5, 1961.

9 December 18-26, 1960.

he computer reported 180 million Americans and 50 million Russians dead, and the war "lost." In the latter, the U. S. "won" he war, but at a cost of 110 million lives.[10]

Radiation and Germs. A side effect of nuclear weapons is, of course, radioactive fallout, about which there has been a great deal of discussion, largely in connection with bomb tests. While there is a tendency these days to deprecate the importance of radiation and fallout, there are several points worth remembering in connection with Civil Defense.

(1) The radioactive "cloud" from a single, relatively small nuclear bomb may be expected to cover an area downwind for fully 200 miles. Since no one knows how many bombs would be dropped, or what the weather conditions would be, an attack may be presumed to cover a large area surrounding the target with lethal fallout.

(2) The downgrading of fallout as a danger is connected with the presumed building on a large scale of "fallout shelters." Estimates vary as to the length of time it would be necessary to remain in such a shelter after an attack, but few are willing to guess less than two weeks, and some scientists calculate the time in months. No one has maintained that human beings anywhere near the target area are likely to survive the fallout unless they are in adequate shelters. This is an important point to remember in evaluating the total CD program.

Nor is much said about biological—germ —warfare, though this is clearly another aspect of the danger.[11] But what can anyone hope to say about shelter from invisible disease germs, cultivated to a virulence beyond the capacity of either natural or contrived antibodies to cope with—pestilence that can strike a state or a nation suddenly, all at once, whose infection can be drawn in by the very pumps intended to circulate life-giving air and water? This is a threat with which no one has tried to deal.[12]

The Missiles. As important as the destructiveness of the weapons to any consideration of Civil Defense is the speed of what is euphemistically called the "weapons delivery system."

The bombing planes of World War II flew at 300 miles per hour or less; the bombers of 1960 travel three or four times that fast, well above the speed of sound. Yet even these are becoming obsolete in the face of the fearsome missiles—so much so that in early 1961 one of the country's largest manufacturers, the Martin Company of Baltimore, announced that it had delivered its last plane and would concentrate henceforth on missiles.

The successful firing of a three-stage Minuteman missile 4,000 miles "on target" on February 1, 1961, was signal for the announcement that by a year later 600 such missiles would be installed and aimed in "hard" bases, and that "push-button" war was now a reality.

Earlier and even longer successful firings by the Russians seem to confirm the general impression that the Soviet Union is well ahead of the United States in the development of these "delivery systems."

These missiles are highly refined rockets. They have already shown their ability to travel thousands of miles and hit within a mile or so of target. They are able to carry H-bomb warheads of from one megaton (1 million tons of TNT) to five or ten times that much. They travel at speeds of up to 18,000 miles an hour, or *300 miles per minute.*

If such a missile were fired from Eastern

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10 op. cit. The conclusion drawn from this lunatic calculation seems to have been that American "victory" would be more likely if we and the Russians agreed not to aim at cities but only at missile sites themselves. Apart from the risky business of assuming that a desperate enemy could be sure of hitting such relatively small targets even if he tried, it is interesting to note the naiveté of practical military thinkers who argue that it is impossible to trust the Russians in disarmament but are willing to trust them to face defeat rather than break such an agreement, whether explicit or implicit. If the Communists are the inhuman creatures we are led to believe, is it reasonable to assume that they would hesitate to sacrifice 50 million of their own people if by so doing they could turn utter defeat into victory? This is an example of what Prof. C. Wright Mills refers to as "crackpot realism" in his book *The Causes of World War III.*

11 See "The Pentagon Prepares for Germ Warfare," FELLOWSHIP, 1960.

12 "A present-day attack against us with widespread use of chemical and biological agents would find us completely unprepared and could be disastrous to our national survival." Dr. Charles W. Steele, Ninth Annual U. S. Civil Defense Council Conference, Minneapolis, Minn., Sept. 21, 1960. Dr. Steele's entire report, along with other papers at the Minneapolis conference, will repay study for their Kafkaesque portrayal of a society in the grip of paranoia. Dr. Steele's conclusion deserves to be set down as an added illumination of the promising future: "Your speaker believes that our motto should be: 'The liberties of the United States will be secure when every citizen is also an adequately trained and properly equipped (with civilian gas mask and home shelter) Civil Defense worker.' "

Europe, aimed at a city on the East Coast of the United States, no more than 20 minutes would elapse between the time of firing and the moment of impact on its target.[13] *Even if detection systems were developed to the point of perfection—which is unlikely—this means that the maximum warning time to be expected would be 20 minutes. Five or ten minutes—or none—would be more likely.*

Civil Defense Tackles the Problem

FROM ITS BEGINNING, Civil Defense has been in the unenviable predicament of an organization forced to choose—and justify its choice—between two equally impossible alternatives: hiding and running. Since the basic responsibility for CD has been left with the states and communities, with the Office of Civilian and Defense Mobilization (formerly the Federal Civil Defense Administration) able to counsel, advise, coax and urge but not direct, it is not surprising that CD decisions and instructions frequently have tended to contradict one another. Over all, however, CD in its various manifestations and in different localities and times, has plumped for three major emphases: *blast shelters, evacuation* and *fallout shelters.*

Take cover! The most obvious idea to occur to anyone attempting to defend a city's population against bombing is that of getting everybody into some kind of shelter, and this aspect of a plan appeared in CD thinking from the start. Signs with an arrow and a large "S" blossomed, pointing citizens to buildings, cellars and subways. Early instructions warned those who could not get to such shelters to throw themselves down in the street against a curb, covering exposed parts of their bodies with a white cloth. To make sure that mavericks would not start a headlong rush for the country, other signs appeared on major highways and bridges announcing that in the event of an air raid they would be closed to all except military and Civil Defense vehicles.

Some Americans, remembering the smashed ruins of Hiroshima and the vaporized steel tower of Alamagordo, New Mexico, scoffed at the proposals from the start, but the shelter idea was not really blown to bits until the news of the first H-bomb test. With the word that a single bomb now, in the words of President Eisenhower, could "kill the largest city" with an earth-shaking force that would crush even deep shelters, CD had to take a new look. In New York City its director bluntly declared:

> It is a fantastic thought, but God knows, with the latest news from Washington, evacuation is the only solution. . . . If this latest bomb is what they say it is, our system of going to shelters is ancient history.[14]

The latest bomb was "what they say it is." Signs on the highways quietly came down to be replaced by new ones identifying principal roads as "evacuation routes."

In most Civil Defense thinking since then, shelters in "target areas" have been written off, and the populations too, unless they can be moved to safer places beforehand. The Office of Civilian and Defense Mobilization admits bluntly: "People and property too close to a nuclear burst would be destroyed immediately by blast, by heat, or by the initial nuclear radiation."[15]

Shelter discussions on the part of federal planners since then have been devoted almost exclusively to "fallout shelters" for the protection of those outside the target areas.

Armageddon—With Band-Aids

Yet some CD state and community offices continue to behave as though shelters from nuclear explosions were a real option. Nothing so impeaches the sincerity and intelligence of CD officers in New York, for example, as the ponderous play-acting that passes for a Civil Defense "drill" each spring. Sirens blow (at a prearranged time)

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13 Of course it is deceptive to refer to "a missile"—in the event of such a war there would be flights of missiles, rather than a single one.

14 *New York Post,* April 1, 1954.

15 From "What You Should Know about the National Plan for Civil Defense and Defense Mobilization." OCDM, 1958-59.

ndicating an attack, CD wardens complete vith tin hats (presumably to shelter them rom falling buildings) spring into action, nd the citizens are herded into "shelters" ehind the plate glass windows of stores or rowded on the steps of a subway entrance. Since most people are indoors at any moment, the majority are already "sheltered," adding only a touch of irony to the gigantic farce by standing at windows to watch developments outside. A photograph on the front page of *The New York Times* following the 1960 "drill" showed curious citizens peering from doorways and from a subway entrance whose stairs had brought their heads barely below the surface of the street. During all this, Civil Defense forces, all miraculously spared by the explosions, were mobilizing at prearranged points by way of streets miraculously uncluttered by radioactive rubble, where they, as one writer put it, "rushed to Armageddon with a Band-Aid."[16]

Counting the Bodies

This happy holocaust was described the next day by CD Director Major General Robert E. Condon as "a great success," in a press release that also contained the interesting information that 5,340,490 New Yorkers had been presumed "killed" and 2,543,410 "seriously injured" in the attack. The *New York Post* wondered editorially, "If this exercise was a success, what is the definition of failure?"

City Planner Robert Moses was even more blunt, describing the exercises as "the silly city drills ballyhooed by local Civil Defense heads" and attributing to them only the accomplishment of having "undermined public respect and increased the harmless stock of ribald stories."[17]

The unhappy but unarguable fact is that shelter from an H-bomb in a target area is not possible. As Senator Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa declared: "If you don't get killed in the blast, you may get killed in the radiation. If you don't get killed in the radiation, you get killed in the firestorm. If you don't get killed by the fire, you get killed by lack of oxygen."[18]

While most CD thinkers began to concentrate on the other horn of their dilemma —evacuation—some CD theorists have not entirely relinquished the idea of city shelters. General Clarence R. Huebner, New York State CD Director, is reported to be enamored of the elaborate plan proposed in 1960 by the New York Academy of Sciences. It calls for the carving out of a mammoth shelter in the solid rock that lies under Manhattan, 800 feet deep, in which four million city dwellers could take shelter. The plan provides for blowing up the entrance ramps after everyone is in, and would in effect create an underground city, complete with "restraint areas" for those who can't take it, and occupational therapy for sufferers from claustrophobia. Estimates of its cost range around $3 to $6 billion. Of this plan, Dan Wakefield comments: "Aside from the economic feasibility of burrowing an entire city underground, there are still some old-fashioned segments of the population who resent the notion of living like moles."[19]

The Argument From Strategy

Another defender of the practicability of blast shelters is Herman Kahn, leading theorist for the Air Force's "think factory," the Rand Corporation. Mr. Kahn is the leading proponent of the idea that all-out nuclear war is feasible and may be survived and won. An essential element of that survival and victory, he argues, is construction of shelters. These he sees as workable on the theory that the Russians will use bombs with only enough explosive power to destroy everything on the surface. Of this a California radio commentator had this to say:

While he warns us that we will be so crip-

16 Dan Wakefield, "Good-by New York" in *Esquire*, August 1960.

17 Robert Moses, "The Civil Defense Fiasco" in *Harper's Magazine*, November 1957.

18 *The Progressive*, August 1959.

19 op. cit.

pled in the initial attack that we can only manage a feeble retaliation he tells us that we have only to go a few feet underground to find safety. This is not because he hasn't heard that modern nuclear bombs can dig deeper holes than that, but because he calculates that the Russians will use only enough explosive power to destroy buildings on the surface. Why? Why, if it would not destroy us, would they stop at the surface, or even at the first basement? And if we were not destroyed would we give up? And if we did not give up would the war be ended? And if it weren't ended wouldn't they (and we) shift to more effective-sized bombs? Apparently Mr. Kahn's logic skips a beat at this point. He says they will make war if they can win and they can win (if we stay on the surface of the earth) with only medium weapons. But the bigger weapons will dig a hole some miles deep, and if it is true that they will make war if they can win and that they can win if they can destroy us, why should they stop on the surface when we are just underneath?[20]

For those who feel a need to pursue this ghoulish subject further, a few additional observations about the "city underground" are in order. Again leaving aside the economic practicability of building shelters to house the 48 million residents and workers in the 130 American cities of more than 100,000 population, these added obstacles exist:

This is not really a shelter concept, but a form of evacuation. Four million people can't move *anywhere* in 18 minutes, so that the population would have to go underground *before* the attack, i.e., the war, begins. Such a move is subject to all the criticisms of evacuation proper. When would the move be made? If the attack did not occur as expected, when would people go back to their homes on the surface? If the attack did not occur but tension continued, would they stay underground indefinitely? Since these are not *really* underground cities, but only living quarters for the city's inhabitants, what would happen to commerce and industry?

On another level, would not the decision to take shelter itself precipitate the attack it was intended to avert? If word came to the United States that the populations of all Russian cities had been ordered to move underground immediately, would we not conclude that an attack on us was imminent? Why should we suppose their reaction to be any different if the circumstances were reversed?

But such plans are not really worthy of extended discussion. The spending of uncounted billions of dollars to dig holes in the ground can only be the product of minds that have become separated from reality. The reaction of most Americans is more likely to be that of the planning director of one city when he was asked to testify to his commission on the building of shelters.

"I have no use for them," said Charles Washburn. "If society has reached that stage, I would rather take my chances in the next world. We crawled out of caves only a few thousand years ago and I have no intention of crawling back in again."[21]

Evacuation. Given the assumption of all-out nuclear war, if shelters are impracticable for the city dwellers, the only alternatives are either to empty the cities before the bombs hit or, as Brown and Real suggested, "reconcile ourselves to the loss of their inhabitants." Civil Defense turned warily but hopefully to evacuation.

The basic requirements for a successful plan of evacuation of a major city may be stated simply. They are to get everybody a safe distance out of town before the bombs hit, and then to relocate them in places where they will be fed and sheltered,

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 21)

[20] Urban Whitaker, on KPFA, Berkeley, Calif., July 6, 1960.

[21] Santa Barbara (Calif.) *News-Press*, Jan. 20, 1961.

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F.O.R. PROTESTS U.S. PART IN CUBAN INVASION

Meeting in emergency session the day following first reports of the invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro forces, the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation approved a strongly worded statement of protest at the part played by the United States in the action. Titled "We Cannot Condone This Act," the statement was authorized for publication as a half-page advertisement in the *New York Times* of Sunday, April 23. The Fellowship was joined in the statement by such well-known individuals as Kyle Haselden, Erich Fromm, Norman Thomas, C. Wright Mills, Howard Schomer, Sidney Lens and Maxwell Geismar.

The statement referred to widespread reports in responsible newspapers and magazines that the invading forces had been organized, trained, equipped and financed on U.S. soil by agencies of the United States government. "Americans have rightly condemned the Soviet Union for its aggressive intervention in the affairs of Hungary," the statement observed. "How can we condone the participation of the United States, in violation of its own laws and treaty obligations, in the deliberate subversion of the Cuban government?"

The statement was accompanied, in the advertisement, by a listing of sections from U.S. laws and provisions of the charters of the United Nations and the Organization of American States which seem to have been violated by American actions, and quotations from the *New York Times, Miami Herald, Baltimore Sun* and *Business Week.*

The statement concluded with a plea to the government to "reverse its direction, quickly, before it is too late" and to abandon a policy "that would still be impolitic and immoral, whatever semblance of legality might be given it." The government was asked to enforce vigorously its own laws against the organization of subversion and to "bring into play the healing forces of mediation and reconciliation."

"No Secret"

"It is...no secret that the United States Government has been helping the Cuban exiles over a period of many months with arms, training and facilities on American soil and in Guatemala."

--New York Times,
April 18, 1961

"Privately, Administration officials go well beyond the cautious phrasing of the white paper and the President's statements. They leave no doubt that the U.S. government is committed to giving strong encouragement and support to the Cuban insurgents--and even might intervene militarily at some stage if the insurgents seem to be on the verge of being crushed."

--Business Week,
April 15, 1961

"There must be a stop somewhere to the deadly circle of violence and counter-violence if man is to survive," the statement concluded. "The time to break that circle is now."

The protest followed on the heels of a three-month-long attempt to send to Cuba a "reconciliation team" of nine Americans prominent in church, academic and peace fields. The proposed trip, which Fellowship officers and staff had hoped might find ways of lessening the tension and introducing

(Continued on next page)

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F.O.R. Protests *(cont'd)*

reconciliation into Cuban-U.S. relations, was thwarted by the State Department, which used newly established restrictions on travel to the island to rule that it would not be "in the best interests of the United States."

Reprints of the FOR advertisement are being distributed widely, and it is hoped that individuals and groups will undertake to have it placed in other newspapers.

Council Names Officers; Approves Budget for 1961-62

Charles R. Lawrence, sociology professor and active Episcopal layman, was re-elected National Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation by a unanimous vote of the well-attended meetings of the National Council, April 6-8. Other officers elected for the 1961-62 year were:

Vice-Chairmen: Dr. M. Forest Ashbrook, American Baptist Convention, New York; Rev. A. Stauffer Curry, Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Ill.; Prof. Paul Deats, Boston University School of Theology; Rev. Allan Hunter, Mt. Hollywood (Cal.) Congregational Church; Rev. Alberta Lunger, Disciples of Christ, Fort Worth, Texas; Rev. Robert W. Moon. First Methodist Church, Fresno, California; Rev. Claud D. Nelson, New York.

Treasurer: Rev. J. Martin England, New York; assistant treasurer: Rev. Lloyd Berg, New York.

The Council also approved without change a budget recommended to it by the Finance Committee, calling for contributions of $150,000 and gross expenses of $217,000 for the year 1961-62.

Message to the Church; Statements Made by Council

One of the best-attended annual meetings of the FOR National Council in recent years occurred at the Nyack FOR headquarters April 6 to 8. A total of 47 members, staff and visitors were present, from fourteen states.

A substantial block of the Council's time was devoted to discussion of major issues confronting the organization, and resulted in the issuance of a series of statements and resolutions, as follows:

The Church as the Light of Christ: Its Mission of Reconciliation in the Nuclear Age, intended as a message to the Christian churches of America.

On Race and *On the Sit-In Movement.* Two statements reasserting the FOR's position on a crucial issue of our time.

On the Eichmann Trial.

On "Nuclear Pacifism." The growth and significance of this movement in and out of the churches.

On American-Cuban Relations.

On the Rise of Right-Wing Movements.

In addition, the Council adopted a recommendation to the Council of the International FOR, which meets this summer in France, to consider the establishment of a permanent "reconciliation team" and efforts to locate key persons and groups in different parts of the world "with whom contacts may be established at moments of crisis, and through whom the mission of reconciliation may be made practicable."

Copies of the various statements, in mimeographed form, are available on request from the national office.

On April 21, thirty-six members of the Transcontinental Walk for Peace arrived in Cleveland, Ohio, the halfway mark of their 6,500-mile journey from San Francisco to Moscow. The walk is being sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action.

NEWS from the peace front

Disarmament efforts by the Kennedy dministration were commended by E. aymond Wilson, executive secretary the Friends Committee on National egislation at the seventh National Con- rence on World Disarmament and De- elopment in Washington, D. C , last onth. Wilson praised Kennedy's en- rgement of the Disarmament Adminis- ation and the work now being done in e disarmament field.

Among the groups participating in e Conference were the FOR, the merican Friends Service Committee, e Church Peace Union, the National ouncil of Churches and others.

* * *

In London last month, twenty-five eople set out from Trafalgar Square n a 550-mile walk to Holy Loch, Scot- nd, to protest the basing of U.S. mis- ile-firing submarines there. The team, any of whom participated in the Al- ermaston demonstration at Easter, are olding anti-nuclear rallies in towns nd cities en route. Hundreds are ex- ected to join in the walk. When the roup arrives in Holy Loch they will eek to immobilize the Polaris base by onviolently occupying submarines and and installations.

The march is being sponsored by the ritish Direct Action Committee Against uclear War which includes Sir Herbert ead, Bertrand Russell, Lord Boyd-Orr, ohn Osborne, Dr. Linus Pauling and thers and such FOR members as Dr. Donald Soper, Martin Niemoller and Michael Scott.

* * *

Food-for-Peace Director George S. McGovern urged President Kennedy last month to endorse an $11-billion program "to feed and clothe the hungry and rag- ged of the world in the next five years." Such a program, McGovern said, would revamp production schedules of the na- ion's farms and undertake the selling, lending, bartering or giving away of food and fiber as part of the effort to build self-reliant economies in under- developed areas.

A statement endorsing America's Food for Peace program was signed last month by more than 100 top religious leaders, both clergy and laymen, of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish faiths.

* * *

The Indian FOR has been asked by a Christian group in Hubli, India, to help ease serious tension which has developed in their denomination. Similar calls for FOR assistance have recently come from two separate groups in the Church of South India.

Meanwhile, the Indian FOR is continuing its efforts to reconcile differences between the Mar Thoma and Malankara churches in Kerala, India.

* * *

Dr. Otto Dibelius, Evangelical bishop of Berlin, declared last month that all Germans share the guilt of former Nazi colonel Adolf Eichmann, whose trial in an Israeli court began last month. Eichmann has been charged with delivering millions of Jews to annihilation camps during World War II. "The German people," Dibelius said, "cannot exonerate themselves from the guilt of the mass murderer and his accomplices. They were men from our midst, of our blood, our kind, our people. Such a thing cannot be shoved aside." "We may believe," he continued," that this guilt, so great that it cannot be comprehended, will be forgiven those who believe in Christ and His Cross."

* * *

Discrimination in hotels, apartment houses and restaurants experienced by many diplomatic representatives to the United States and the UN was deplored last month by the Department of International Affairs of the National Council meeting in New York City. The independence of nine more African nations in 1960-61 and the establishment of diplomatic relations with them, underlines the urgency of assuring that they do not encounter racial discrimination in the U.S., according to a spokesman for the group. "The main concern now,"

(Continued on next page)

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he said, "is the question of suitable housing in New York for UN delegates."

* * *

Negro farmers in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tenn., are in desperate need of loans to help them pay for the costs of spring planting. The farmers, ordered off their land in February for registering and voting in the presidential election, will not be able to support themselves unless they receive the loans. Other needs of the group include mens' and childrens' shoes. Contributions or loans may be sent to the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League, Inc., Route 4, Box 133A Somerville, Tenn.

* * *

A new Lutheran laymen's "peace corps," with headquarters in Minneapolis, Minn., is seeking to recruit professional men and women, skilled workers and students to serve abroad as part-time missionaries at their own expense. The project, known as World Brotherhood Exchange, will screen applicants for dedication, motivation and respect for customs and traditions of others. Participants will only work in areas where indigenous churches exist.

LIT NOTES

Reprints of "The Pre-Emptive War Doctrine" by Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester (Ret.) are now available free of charge. The article, which urges thoughtful Americans to re-study the whole propaganda system of cold war fear and hate, challenges the new and dangerous U.S. propaganda line that "it is necessary to violate opponnets' air space because they are 'closed societies' and we are 'open societies.' " Order from Fellowship Publications, Box 271 Nyack, N. Y.

* * *

Some Facts and Some Comments, a 32-page National Council of Churches pamphlet describing and analyzing the new House Un-American Activities film "Operation Abolition" and events connected with it, is now available from the Fellowship. Price: 50¢ a copy. Order from Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

DATES TO REMEMBER

May 25. New York FOR dinner at Christ Church (Methodist), 530 Park Ave., N.Y. Speakers: Jerome Frank and FOR Church Secretary John Heidbrink. For reservations write: A.J. Muste, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y.

May 27-28. FOR National Conf. for Philadelphia area at Penn. Student Christian Assn., 3601 Locust St., University of Pennsylvania. For information call T. Y. Rogers in Philadelphia. Tel.: LO 3-4070.

June 23-30. AFSC Search for New Directions Institute at Sunnybrook Camp, Echo Lake, Pa. Write: Nick Paster, 1500 Race St., Philadelphia 2, Pa.

The Church as the Light of Christ

The Christian church is Christ's body in the world...Its ministry is the ministry of peace in the spirit of Him who said, "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God." And the first step in peacemaking is to have done with warmaking. Then the way becomes open for exploring more Christian ways of grappling with tension and conflict in the world. A renewed Church, freed from its involvement in war, can inspire society to consecrate the resources of science and technology to God's creative and redemptive purposes. The tragic estrangement between Christian citizenship and Christian discipleship is thus overcome.

--from a Message to the Churches
Adopted by the FOR National Council, April 8, 1961

ot just for a night or so but for months, erhaps years. These requirements are rther complicated by the need either to ove these populations en masse at least wenty or thirty miles in as little as ten inutes, or to guess correctly a few days advance when the attack will come.

To state the problem should demonstrate he impossibility of handling it, but Civil Defense continues to preach it as a practical answer to nuclear attack. Let us examine some of the difficulties.

Once more, the problem is not like anything ever confronted before. Evacuations here have been, but not on such a scale, nor under such compulsion. London sent many of its children, invalids and old people to the country during World War II. London was being bombed, and there seemed little point to risking the lives of those whose presence was not needed for the city's existence. But the able-bodied adults, those who worked in the offices and factories and shops, who ran the trains and the trams and the telegraph—all these stayed, and each one knew that, considering the size of the city and the limited destructiveness of the bombs, his own chances were heavily in favor of not being hit.

The city of the '60s, waiting for the H-bomb-carrying missile, is vastly different. The choice for every person will be evacuation or death. If the city is hit, all who are then in it will die. The need is to get everybody out and a great distance away.

Military thinking on the subject of nuclear war between Russia and the U.S. generally accepts as basic the assumption that, unless the war begins by accident, it will start with as massive an assault as the attacker can launch, in a desperate effort to knock out the enemy before he can retaliate.

Twenty Minutes—Everybody Out

If evacuation does not begin until that attack is launched, the city will have less than twenty minutes to empty itself. Can anyone who has ever seen the slow-moving lines of traffic clogging the roads out of a city on a summer Friday afternoon believe that this can be done? Every car in the city trying to get out at the same time! Drivers struck by panic, driving recklessly, fighting for space! Men trying to cross the main lines of traffic to reach their families! It defies reason not to believe that within minutes of the alarm every road out of the city would be hopelessly blocked.

CD officials do not admit this, of course. In a televised debate with the writer, Portland (Oregon) CD Director Jack Lowe acknowledged the traffic jams that ensue after a football game or similar event, but argued that in the case of evacuation this would be straightened out "automatically" by means of traffic lights that would keep all traffic moving one direction and prevent cross traffic.[22] Of a similar argument, Ohio's Senator Stephen S. Young demanded caustically, "Does any intelligent citizen think that civilians fleeing an atomic attack would watch, much less obey, traffic signals?"[23]

Commissioner Robert Moses, who has built and supervised most of New York's major traffic arteries, declared that "you can't evacuate cities in a short time on the basis of any warning system, however effective. You cannot get the inhabitants quickly out of town without killing and maiming more in the process than would be lost or wounded in the explosions, fire, concussions, and fallout. . . . The key strategic places of congestion in all big cities are at water crossings and main streets. Within half an hour after an atomic alarm had been sounded, not only would these bottlenecks be completely choked up, but there would be devastation due merely to people and cars being run down."[24]

And California's CD Director Jonas said wearily, "We can't even get people out of San Francisco after a football game."[25]

Strategic Warning

If, on the other hand, evacuation takes place before the attack, on the basis of a "strategic warning," then other questions arise, as suggested earlier.

At what point of rising tension is evacuation ordered? The late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles wrote that the

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22 Jack Lowe—Alfred Hassler debate on "Viewpoint"—KGW and KGW-TV, Portland, Oregon, July 10, 1960. Tape available from Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, New York.

23 *Congressional Record,* April 14, 1960.

24 op. cit.

25 Oakdale (Calif.) *Leader,* op. cit.

country had already been "at the brink of war" several times, and he and others warned that Americans should expect to live in such hazardous uncertainty for many years to come. Would the arrival at such a "brink" be the signal for evacuation of a hundred or more cities?

If they were evacuated and the attack did not come, how would the life of the city continue? Who would operate its power stations, its hospitals, its industries and banks and businesses? If all these things came to a stop, what would happen to the economy of the country as a whole?

Who would make the decision to return to the city if the attack did not occur? Could such a return be made without exposing people to the same danger from which they had fled? Or would return have to wait until the settlement of political differences had relaxed tension? (And would it not be better and easier to settle them *before* the tension had reached such a point rather than after?)

And, of course, the other critical psychological-political question suggested earlier: would not such mass evacuation seem to the Russians a signal that we were planning to launch an attack on them? If that were the case, the evacuation could prove to be a "self-fulfilling prophecy": creating itself the disaster it sought to avoid.

Where Will Evacuees Get Food?

Suppose these millions of men, women and children, invalids, babies, the infirm, the occupants of prisons and mental hospitals, all were successfully moved out—what then? How would they be fed, housed, cared for? The modern city is an incredibly complex system of collection and distribution that can be thrown into confusion by a two-day strike of tugboat operators or a heavy snowfall. Lines of trucks and freight cars move into a city daily bringing the food, milk, fuel and other necessities of life for its inhabitants. Huge water pipes bring their contents from miles away; elaborate sewage systems are needed to dispose of the city's daily waste.

What will take the place of all these for the scattered inhabitants? A few cities are supplied by farms and orchards within easy access, but most have to bring their food from many miles away. The imagination reels at the storage capacity needed to handle even a week's stockpile of necessities, to which must be added the further complication of the need for protection from radioactive contamination.

The same consideration would apply to shelter. Even if the weather permitted, such devices as huge tent cities would provide practically no more protection from radiation than would standing in the open.

As the doughty Senator from Ohio puts it: "It is just too absurd to consider evacuation plans under the circumstances."[26]

One-Day War

Fallout Shelters. Consider the one-day war of 196?—if it should come.

All the other hopes and half-measures and theories have proven inadequate. Diplomacy has failed. Brush-fire wars have not settled the issues: limited wars have increased in intensity until they could no longer be limited. The deterrent policy on which both sides had depended has failed. All-out thermonuclear war—global war that would be fought with H bombs, supersonic planes and guided missiles—has begun.

How it chanced to begin is no longer important. Perhaps the two great powers had gone too far along the dangerous cold war route for either to retreat. Perhaps the threats and counter-threats and warnings by which each kept its own population willing to endure the constant nervous tension and pay the enormous bills had gone too far, and one side or the other, overcome with the fear that its adversary was

26 op. cit.

but to attack, launched the first, "preiptive" strike itself.[27]

More likely it began as some form of acident or miscalculation. The crash of an bomb-carrying plane on a city, or other cidental explosion; a retaliatory strike ainst an attacking flight of missiles that s really a flight of wild geese on a distant dar screen; the sudden emotional breakwn of a pilot or a captain standing endss hours over a fatal push-button—these e the real and constant worries of sober ilitary analysts as the most likely causes thermonuclear war.

However it began, it has come. Hundreds missiles streak through space at 300 iles a minute, each bearing a destructive ad equal to a million tons or more of NT. Some may fail; a few may be interpted, though it is not likely;[28] most reach eir targets. Cities melt away, their inabitants burned or buried or blown to its in an instant.

From the blazing pyres into which the ties have been transformed, mushroom ouds rise 20 miles or more into the sky nd within 10 to 12 minutes measure 100 iles across.[29] Each carries with it great asses of pulverized debris, made highly adioactive. This is what becomes "fallut," and the fallout from a single bomb ill begin coming down shortly over an rea of as much as 7,000 square miles.[30] (A imulated attack with 40 nuclear weapons f relatively modest size was made in 1958 n New York, New Jersey and the six New England states. Eighty per cent of the total rea was covered with intensely radioacive fallout.[31]) Twenty-four hours after a large-scale attack, almost the entire United States would be blanketed with fatally radioactive dust.[32]

The radiation is intense, and while some CD literature speaks optimistically of the "protection" afforded by ordinary clothes, plans prepared for "do-it-yourself" shelters in the cellars of homes (already protected by the superstructure of the house) call for a minimum of 8 inches of concrete, 12 inches of earth, or 30 inches of wood.[33] It is for safety from this radiation that CD has recently been putting heavy emphasis on fallout shelters for families and communities that might not be in the direct target areas.

The Inexpensive Basement Shelter

A great deal of foolishness has been written about fallout shelters, and there is no sign that it is likely to abate in the near future. The "inexpensive basement shelter" plans distributed by OCDM have been elaborated and glamorized as "game rooms" and "guest rooms." A "luxury model," complete with wall-to-wall carpeting, scrabble set and TV was put on display by New York CD headquarters. School boards and church congregations have been urged to incorporate shelters in new structures, and a very few have done so. Six hundred high schools have been given $250 each to teach their students "the techniques of building fallout shelters"[34] and nine colleges are reported to have agreed to teach shelter design and evaluation to architects and engineers.[35] It remains to be seen whether these new attempts will be more successful than earlier ones in overcoming the public's commendable skepticism about all such plans, which has thrived on such revelations as Senator Young's disclosure that not a single CD official in his state (Ohio) had put such a shelter in his own home.[36]

What is it that is wrong with these shelter ideas?

Physical characteristics. For many millions of families away from the cities and military installations that would be prime tar-

27 It should be noted that talk of "preventive war," which has always been frowned on as impossibly aggressive, has been displaced among military theorists in this country by discussion of "pre-emptive war." This would be a "defensive strike" launched before the country had actually been attacked, on the grounds that intelligence reports indicated that it was *about to be* attacked. Since such a report would be heavily dependent on interpretation and judgment, it is obviously subject to error—in this case, uncorrectable error. It is subject also to the fantastic possibility of itself becoming the provocation of war, if the enemy is also committed to the "pre-emptive" policy and, perhaps not really planning an attack at all, is driven to it by its discovery of the enemy's plans. Readers who reject such reasoning as irrational are referred to a new novel, *Men of Destiny*, by the British military authority Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall.

28 "A determined aggressor could deliver atomic or hydrogen bombs on our cities, should he decide to attack."—"Facts about the H-bomb," Federal Civil Defense Administration.

29 Ibid.

30 "The Family Fallout Shelter." OCDM.

31 "Protection from Radioactive Fallout." op. cit.

32 "The Family Fallout Shelter."

33 Ibid.

34 *The New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1961.

35 *The New York Times*, Feb. 26, 1961.

36 *Congressional Record.*

gets, it probably would be possible to build a relatively inexpensive shelter, in a corner of the cellar or out from the cellar walls into the surrounding earth, though it is doubtful if many would stay within the $150 to $200 CD estimate. For millions more, either type would be impossible or very expensive. Many homes have no cellars. Others suffer constantly from dampness and occasional flooding, and would need difficult and expensive waterproofing.

CD estimates that in family shelters 10 square feet per person would be "adequate."[37] For a family of five, that would mean a room 10 feet long and 5 feet wide. Into this would have to fit not only the five persons, but also:

Food and water for at least two weeks (a minimum of 7 gallons of water per person, says CD);

Sanitary facilities;

Ventilating system;

Lighting system;

Heating (and cooking?) arrangements, since the enemy might not be considerate enough to have the war in the warm weather.

Civil Defense also recommends "games and amusements for the children" and some tasks to keep the family busy, "such as diaries."

The sheer physical difficulty of assembling in such limited space this assortment of necessities is obvious to anyone who marks off the area suggested. But more important than the physical, of course, are—

Psychological Factors. Several experimenters have encased a family for two weeks in a model shelter of this sort, equipped with observation windows and electronic testing equipment. To their pleased surprise, the families in question survived, although not completely unmarked by the experience. One family gave up after a few days, but others stuck it out for the full two weeks. Princeton University, which should have better things to do with its time, was host to one such experiment in which a man and wife and three small children were the subjects. Dr. Jack A. Vernon, head of the Psychology Department, reported with obvious satisfaction that they had held out all right, though he noted that ventilation and sanitation had presented problems, one child had shown "overt signs of regression," and the two adults had suffered daily attacks of vertigo so severe as to incapacitate them.[38]

What such an experiment does not deal with, of course, is the uncertainty and anxiety that would make the use of the shelter in war an entirely different experience. Imagine the same family, cowering in the dark confines of a small damp shelter, knowing that death is all around them, that they will come up into a world totally different from what they have known, not even sure that they themselves are not being fatally affected in spite of their preparations. There would be no electric power, no lights except for makeshift candle or flashlight. Attempts to cook or produce heat would consume more oxygen and complicate the task of the member of the family pumping the hand ventilator system. Food would be limited in both quantity and variety, and to all the other uncertainties would be added the possibility that there would be no more food available when they came out. Can anyone believe that there would not be far more than "overt regressions" in human beings subjected to such an experience?

After the War. But worse than the shelter itself would be the conditions to which these "survivors" would come out when the two weeks were up. Little enough has been said of this by Civil Defense writers, except for one particularly choice bit of prophecy that concludes Dr. Vernon's report on the Princeton experiment and that deserves to be quoted in full:

> If the devastation of atomic warfare is as great as it can be, to come out of shelter may be to come out to a primitive world. The cultural aspects of our present society may be gone and man's main occupation will be continual survival for many years to come. Man will probably find it necessary to return to the soil, to spend more of his time hunting, to turn his hand to fishing, he may forget about clocks and the evils of timetables, he may even establish a small colony and settle into a tranquility known only to those who are self-sufficient. Is the prospect of such a life so terrible?[39]

[37] "The Family Fallout Shelter"

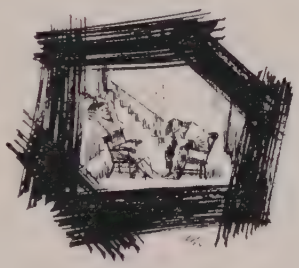
[38] Prof. Jack A. Vernon, in "Nuclear War—The Psychology Department Tests Its Civilian Side in 'Operation Hideaway.'" *Princeton Alumni Weekly* October 30, 1959.

[39] Ibid.

For those who can wrench themselves from the contemplation of this idyllic existence, it will be apparent that a few points somehow escaped Dr. Vernon's attention. One is the fact that radioactive fallout "is a threat not only to humans but also to animals, crops and unpackaged food. It . . . can contaminate your homes, cars, yards and fields, and water supplies to the extent that they should not be used until they have been decontaminated."[40]

Assuming that Dr. Vernon's game and fish have not been clever enough to have built shelters for themselves, is it not permissible to wonder whether hunting and fishing—or at least eating the fruits of the chase—will really be as enjoyable for the emancipated commuter as Dr. Vernon suggests?

But contaminated animals and fish will not be all the problems of our survivors. Everything exposed will have been contaminated: homes, cars, yards, fields, water supply. How do you deal with these things? When an underwater nuclear bomb was exploded in a test at Bikini in 1946, the test ships on which the radioactive water fell could not be boarded except briefly, and by heavily protected workers, for more than a year, and some of them had to be sunk. How do the survivors go about decontaminating all the myriad things they have to handle and walk on and live in?



The Poisoned Earth

CD says they can wash off some things, like house roofs and flat surfaces—but neglect to say where they can find large quantities of uncontaminated water, or water pressure. The ground needs only to be turned over by deep plowing—if gasoline can be found to run tractors safe to sit on, or horses that have not died from the radiation themselves. But this "probably would not be done until some time after the bomb burst."[41]

Meanwhile, where do our survivors find food and fuel? There are still a few places in our country where people live pretty much on what they grow on their own land. Such people might have a fighting chance to survive and try to build a new life. But most Americans depend now on an enormous mechanized complex of production and distribution that, for all its size, is as delicate as a watch. That system would disintegrate. Roads, railroads, airfields would be destroyed. The massive control and distribution centers in the cities would be buried beneath mounds of radioactive rubble. Our survivors would come out of their cramped shelter to a world of little or no food, contaminated water, poisoned earth—and, of course, death.

For the other inescapable fact of the post-war world would be death—vast, massive death, with all the horrifying complications that go with it. What preparations can be made to deal with 50 or 100 million corpses, especially when "removal of the dead may have to be delayed to allow for safe handling due to decay of the radioactivity"?[42]

A sampling of what this task means was given by the officer in charge of disposal of the dead when Americans reoccupied Manila after hard fighting in 1944. In an interview "he described the horror of the maggots and flies which multiplied prodigiously in the vicinity of unburied bodies. He told of the difficulty in hiring laborers to bury decomposed dead, even at high rates and with extra incentives, such as food and the looting of bodies. He told of contaminated water supplies; sewers clogged with the dead. . . . Only a few of the [American soldiers] had ability to withstand the psychological aspect of the work. With a few exceptions, nausea, vomiting and loss of appetite occurred after a few days."[43] And this occurred with a total of 39,000 bodies to dispose of, in eight weeks.

Perhaps nothing suggests better the hor-

40 "What You Should Know about Radioactive Fallout." FCDA, 1955.

41 Ibid.

42 "Disaster and Disposal of the Dead," by Col. Gottlieb L. Orth, in *Military Medicine*, July 1959.

43 Ibid, quoted in *The Keystone Defender*, published by the Pennsylvania State Council of Civil Defense, May-June 1960.

ror that makes many thoughtful Americans say that they would not want to be among the survivors of nuclear war, than a paragraph from a report of the work of a committee appointed to study the probable reactions of Americans to the aftermath of such a war. Author Donald Robinson writes:

> During World War II, a British air raid warden served throughout the height of the blitz, fighting fires, aiding the wounded, extricating the dead, and never quivered once. Finally, he cracked. He was going home about one A.M. after a very mild raid when he saw a puppy prancing down the street, his tail wagging gaily, happy as could be. He seemed so pleased with himself that the warden peered closely to see why. The puppy was carrying a child's hand in his mouth.
>
> Millions of children's hands and feet would be strewn about after an H-bomb. They'd play havoc with people's nerves, the committee fears.[44]

The committee was probably right.

One more point needs to be made, unpleasant though it be. It was summed up succinctly by noted author Philip Wylie, who served as a consultant to FCDA during both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Wylie tried mightily to arouse Americans from what he regarded as their "apathy" toward civil defense against A-bomb attack, but changed his attitude completely with the advent of the H-bomb, when he "became certain that an all-out engagement with such weapons would create conditions in cities, towns, the countryside and elsewhere for which no plan—whether of city evacuation, shelters, early-warning-radar lines, or anything else—would be of value." In support of his conclusion he cited much the same kind of considerations as have been included in this pamphlet, and then added:

"But, in this matter of taking shelter or getting out in time, a different fact, always known and never, to my recollection, faced squarely, would create such a hideous situation that no program could be imagined that would control it. . . . Granting clear weather, the explosion of a medium-sized H-weapon, day or night, would cause all persons indoors or out within view of the fireball to look at it by uncontrollable reflex. And such people . . . would be made blind instantly, even at a distance of 40 miles from the explosion. Sudden light, thousands of times brighter than the sun, would make them turn around to see the source . . . and that instinctive glance would burn their retinas so that they would be sightless. . . . Their cars, trucks, trains and planes would smash. People in the countryside would be unable even to find their way home [over an area] on the order of 5,000 square miles per 'shot.' "[45]

If Not Civil Defense—Then What?

GRUESOME, DISHEARTENING, desperate—what purpose does it serve to recount all this?

There is one point, and only one.

Civil Defense will not work. It will not work because nothing will. If all-out nuclear war between the two giants of the world should come, then all mankind will have lost. Those who survive would survive by chance: a missed bomb, a change in the wind. From that point on, they would have to improvise. Few of them, probably, would improvise well enough; most of them would die a little later on.

To talk of "victory" in such circumstances, as some of our military commentators still do, is to mock. Even if, by some macabre calculation, one side or the other

44 "If H-Bombs Fall," op. cit.
45 *The Rotarian*, Sept. 1960.

would be adjudged to have "won," the victory would be meaningless. All that we prize of freedom and hope would be lost in a welter of death and terror; all that man has created of beauty and dignity would be among the radioactive particles floating flown to poison the whole earth.

The fact is that war can no longer be tolerated. "There is now," said President Eisenhower, after the results of an H-bomb test had been announced, "no alternative to peace."

It is true. There *is* no alternative to peace, and so all the best efforts, the passionate concern of all men, must be turned to the making of peace. Disarmament, the resolution of political conflicts, negotiation, compromise—these are what we must concentrate on.

Civil Defense diverts us from this all-important task. It contributes to the image of a nation making ready for war. It sustains the deadly myth that war is inevitable, and defrauds us with the pretense that somehow man can manage to deal with it. It is, in the words of New Jersey's Governor Robert E. Meyner, "a cruel deception of the American people."

If it continues on its present level of activity, it will have little more than nuisance significance: an inconsequential way of spending some hundreds of millions of dollars that might be put to better use in our own country or abroad.

If it expands to the level proposed by such theorists as Herman Kahn it will consume scores of billions of dollars, change the whole face of America, and before a bomb falls or a missile is launched encompass the defeat of all that has given our country meaning.

Man's struggle is always, ultimately, with himself and the contentious forces in his own nature. He can rise to life lived bravely, compassionately, unselfishly, or he can descend to such depths of fear and self-love as to destroy the very meaning of life.

What lies ahead for America is not in the hands of the Russians or the Chinese, but in our own. We can spend our wealth burrowing fearfully into the ground, sacrificing everything to the possibility of bare survival in a primitive poisoned world for a relative handful of people. Or we can put the same money and effort into a vast effort at massive reconciliation: providing homes for the homeless, food for the hungry, all through the world. Of such a program Governor Meyner wrote:

> Instead of spending the $150 billion or $200 billion that would be required for a national network of underground shelters, let us put just a fraction of that money and work into a massive effort to make our world safe for human habitation—while there is yet time. We ought now to be talking about building 200 million pre-fabricated homes for the homeless people of Asia and Africa—instead of bemusing ourselves with the cruel nonsense about underground shelters.
>
> We ought to be forging links with other peoples instead of forging iron doors to deep cellars. Our ties to other peoples—the good will we can earn, the support we can justify for world leadership—these will contribute far more to our safety and peace of mind than the holes we can jump into when it is too late. . . .
>
> There are two kinds of preparedness. One is the kind represented by the big bombs. If we are ever in a showdown on that level, God help us.
>
> But there is also another kind of showdown looming ahead in the world—and it requires another kind of preparedness. This is the non-military showdown. It will be determined by the side that has the most to say about human freedom and the making of a better and safer tomorrow for all peoples, and by the side that can earn and keep the respect and support of the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples.[46]

Surely this nobler, more rewarding concept of life could be expected to send a thrill of hope around the world. To pose the constructive power of human dignity and concern against the forces that would degrade and debase would be to recapture

[46] *The Progressive*, June 1960.

for the democratic idea the dynamism that it has largely lost. There is no certain way to safety in a world that lies in the shadow of the Bomb, but this is at least the course that holds the only promise of conserving human dignity and decency.

"Are we," wrote George F. Kennan, former Chief of the State Department's Policy Planning Division, "to flee like haunted creatures from one defensive device to another, each more costly and humiliating than the one before, cowering underground one day, breaking up our cities the next, attempting to surround ourselves with elaborate electronic shields on the third, concerned only to prolong the length of our lives while sacrificing all the values for which it might be worthwhile to live at all? If I thought that this was the best the future held for us, I should be tempted to join those who say, 'Let us divest ourselves of this weapon altogether; let us stake our safety on God's grace and our own good consciences and on that measure of common sense and humanity which even our adversaries possess; but then let us at least walk like men, with our heads up, so long as we are permitted to walk at all.' "[47]

[47] *Harper's Magazine*, February 1958.

THE ONENESS OF CREATION

Love
is the universal force,
quintessence, sound of old.
Love is the time, the thing, the why.
Love alters not but alters all
and lingers on when all is gone.
Life is love and love's the life
that gives reality its being.
It is essence and accident.
the part and yet the whole.
It is the absolute and the contingent
and phenomenal while self-subsisting.

Love is. And yet it happens.
It is the product and the source,
creature and Creator of all.
Constancy that causes change but changes not.
Unknown reality that makes the unreal known.

Love is the Attraction that holds the atom
and at times we call it charge, cohesion,
growth, gravitation, electro-magnetic force;
while other times it's called affection
but all is life and life is Love.

Love is the unmoved mover that perpetually pervades,
since the beginning that had no beginning
to the end that has no end.
Love is the karmic law of give and take
in fission-fusion interplay.
Love is terrestrial, cosmic and divine;
the energy, the light, the mass.
The first and yet the last.

—LIMAGO

Peacemakers Have a Ball

Along with the ceremonial sabers of West Point weddings, the military ball, with its chivalric atmosphere and fancy dress uniforms, strikes an incongruous note in an age of jet aircraft, push-button nuclear warfare and botulinus toxin. On some U.S. college campuses in recent years, small groups of students have decided that the time was ripe to puncture this romantic anachronism by staging an event to rival the military ball.

At the University of Wisconsin in April 1957, the Student Peace Center launched what was to become an annual affair scheduled for the evening following the ROTC military ball. Borrowing—and bending—a word from the Gandhian lexicon, they styled their shindig a "Satyagrahop" at which over two hundred students gathered in the Student Union building to dance to recorded music and folk songs accompanied by guitar, mandolin and washtub bass. Midway in the evening, the Hop was interrupted for a skit dealing with pacifist efforts to get the heads of three imaginary countries to talk peace. Not forgetting ROTC, there was also a staged satire on military drill as a protest against compulsory ROTC courses, and a table displayed free pacifist literature.

Response to the 1958 event was about the same, but in 1959 attendance at the Anti-Military Ball doubled to 400 people while that at the ROTC affair slumped by half to less than 600. This remarkable shift of campus sentiment was dramatized on the night of the ROTC ball itself when pranksters, happily unaffiliated with the Student Peace Center, abducted an ROTC honor guard, spirited him away from his post outside the Student Union building and deposited him, safe but bewildered, at a tavern some distance away.

The Anti-Military Ball itself featured, in addition to dancing to phonograph records, a skit titled "To Boom or Not to Boom: a 20th Century Hamlet," or "All Out for Fallout," written by student Marshall Brickman and performed by a cast of eight Peace Center members.

The plot of the skit concerned the efforts of "the Chief" to persuade his country's inhabitants that strontium-90 is "good for them." An advertising agency hired by the Chief considers whether to use the "hard-sell" slogan, "All Out for Fallout," or the "soft-sell" slogan, "You'll wonder where the fallout went, when the bombs are cleaned by the government." After deciding for the "hard-sell," the ad agency drops the campaign because "You can't sell people something they've already gotten free." At this point, the Chief takes matters into his own hands and goes before the television cameras to give the public his personal assurance that there is nothing wrong with strontium-90. The television program flops, however, when a scientist, who is supposed to appear and testify to this effect, fails to show up—he has been hospitalized as a result of fall-out. In the end, the problem is solved when the advertising men chance upon a mailman who provides them with just the right slogan: "Stop Bomb Testing!"

Immediately after the skit, there was an attempt to kidnap one of the Peace Center leaders in retaliation for the previous abduction of the ROTC guard, but the plot was foiled. Martin Pierce, co-ordinator of the Student Peace Center, reported that besides the obvious differences in orientation, the Anti-Military Ball generated an enthusiasm that contrasted markedly with "the polished but listless attitude of those at the Military Ball."

In 1960, a thousand students attended the Anti-Mil Ball—handily eclipsing the ROTC event. Virtually a tradition by now, the Wisconsin Anti-Mil Ball is organized each spring in a fever of tardy haste, with the skit thrown together at the last minute. Together with other forms of protest, the Ball has succeeded in rendering ROTC non-compulsory at Wisconsin.

Last year, the Young Friends group at

the University of Michigan picked up the Wisconsin idea and staged a "Peacemakers' Prance" on the same night that the Michigan ROTC held its ball at the opposite end of the campus. Music for the pacifist event was supplied free of charge by an unscheduled four-man group of musicians who just dropped in at 9 P.M. and volunteered their services. "At 11 P.M.," reported the *Michigan Daily*, "the four-man unit was still motivating a constantly enlarging crowd of 'plowshare beaters.'" A differential admission was charged—$1 for peacemakers, $2 for warmongers—and proceeds, after paying for the cost of the room, were donated to the American Friends Service Committee. It was not reported whether or how many "warmongers" sought admission to the affair. A cartoon on the editorial page of the *Michigan Daily* depicted the door to the room in which the Prance was held, with a large sign tacked up next to it: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and ruin the defense contract prosperity."

Last year also saw an anti-military ball at the University of Illinois. Despite room trouble, peace-minded students chalked up the event as a real success.

At Michigan this year, the Young Friends held a silent meeting instead of a dance. Although only ten people showed up, the 1961 ROTC Ball was so poorly attended that Young Friends predicted the ball will be dropped "within the next 2-3 years." Military training is not compulsory at Michigan.

In the past year dormant campuses have come alive to the challenge of the sit-in movement that has swept the South. This could mean that satyagrahops and peacemakers' prances will give way this year to other expressions of nonconformity among American students, or it might find anti-military balls rolling in groves of academe hitherto considered "safe" for collegiate militarism. One thing is sure at least: for some time to come, students of this generation will know that there is a "swinging" alternative to the "square" antics of the make-believe cavaliers on some campuses once a year.—W. R. M.

Have you read *A Christian Approach to Nuclear War?*" Price: 15¢

BOOKS

Campus Recruiting Stations

EDUCATION AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP by Gene M. Lyons and John W. Masland. Princeton 1959. 283 pp., $5.

Military training in the form of Army, Navy or Air Force units is being conducted today in more than 300 colleges or universities in the United States. The Navy, which operates on 52 American campuses, does not maintain compulsory units. Army and Air Force training, however, is required in almost two-thirds of the institutions where their units are located. "These include," as the authors point out, "all but two of the land grant institutions and slightly less than half of the private schools."

ROTC today is a means of supplying career officers for the regular forces; it functions only partly as a reserve officer program. It is poducing more officers for the Regular Army than is West Point. The Air Force, faced with the fact that ROTC-trained officers left the Air Force as soon as they could finish their short-term service, has begun to require agreement to serve for five years after graduation. "For many young men, the decision to join the AFROTC now involves a decision as to whether or not to make the Air Force a life career."

With this development comes a new rationale for compulsory military training. By requiring all males at a given college to take military training during their first two years, the Army and Air Force have a larger manpower pool from which to select students for the last two years of advanced training. Since this advanced program is voluntary, persuasion is still required to get the "selected" students. Compulsory ROTC, in other words, gives the military a chance at each boy over a two-year period and the opportunity to pick the "best of the lot."

Lyons and Masland are critical of ROTC but not opposed to it. Their purpose is to improve it and to ease its impact on the educational experience and institution. They want higher standards and better financing. They propose a scholarship pro-

ram to be provided by the Federal government, along lines which only the Navy as today. These scholarships would be warded only after nationwide testing, presumably in the high schools.

To do as they suggest would eliminate he element of compulsion. "We are convinced," they write, "that compulsory training is an intrusion on the educational process and that it is a negative factor in career motivation. It is also bound to become increasingly expensive as enrollments in the land-grant and state universities soar under the impact of the population bulge and the prerequisite of college training for more and more employment opportunities."

The chief flaw in an otherwise valuable contribution to the ROTC problem is the assumption by the two authors that ROTC has a place on the college campus at all.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Unanswered Question

CAN WE END THE COLD WAR? by Leo Perla. Macmillan 1960. 251 pp., $4.50.

This book provides more help in negative criticism than in positive proposal. In it is considerable wisdom regarding the conventional slogans of recent foreign policy. Its thesis seems to be that

> human survival has now come to depend almost entirely on the ability of the United States to take the lead in implementing its foreign policy with a measure of practical Christianity despite current Russian conduct.

Practical Christianity means, among other things, that "we must now love others because we love ourselves."

The central attack is upon the doctrine of double morality, now untenable in the nuclear age which has made the use of force irrational. The first half of the book examines the double standard in three principal applications: the distinction between national and personal conduct; the acting as if what is right for us is wrong for our enemy; and the gap between profession and performance. Readers of FELLOWSHIP will certainly agree:

> It is obvious that nothing less than the survival of the human race now depends on the recognition and application of the simple truths that principles of ethics and logic must be universal, that justice is indivisible, and that no single nation can presume to be judge, jury, and court of appeal where its own interest is involved.

In the second half Leo Perla opposes the inflexibility of a "no appeasement" policy, criticizes using "peace with honor" to cloak drives for military advantage, argues that *in a sense* deterrence means provocation (see below), and raises questions concerning "bargaining from strength" and "limited war."

Among Perla's positive proposals are: 1) encouragement of debate on foreign policy; 2) "investment of faith . . . that Russia will respond not only to fear but to good will . . . not only to distrust but to tempered confidence"; 3) practice of humility and setting of a truly moral example; and—most important—4) forsaking the double standard.

The practical argument, always beneath the surface and at times spelled out, serves to undercut the moral argument.

> Our only hope to avoid war resides in our ability to combine adequate power with respect for a single ethical standard of national conduct and a truly universal idea of justice. Since it seems that an arms race must continue, though many believe it to be a main cause of war, it will have to be accompanied by a nonprovocative attitude unknown to nations heretofore. . . .

Somehow our enlightened self-interest (all

AMONG OUR BOOK REVIEWERS: **John M. Swomley Jr.**, professor of social ethics at National Methodist Theological Seminary, was recently appointed to a 12-member Methodist Commission to Study the Christian Faith and War in the Nuclear Age, and is also a member of the Department of Religious Liberty of the National Council of Churches. **Paul Deats Jr.** is professor of social ethics and religion in higher education at Boston University School of Theology and a vice-chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. **Ann Morrisset** is an FOR member who does public relations work for the American Committee on Africa and has contributed many articles to such magazines as Africa Today, Evergreen Reveiw and FELLOWSHIP. **William L. Neumann** is professor of history at Goucher College and was formerly editor of American Perspective.

we can hope to have) appears to others as a "truly honest, unselfish moral purpose," enabling our military strength to "inspire genuine respect and ensure deterrence without rousing any of the complex emotions which so often lead to war."

The truth is that the author has real reservations about his single standard, arguing that we cannot afford the double standard "except in the rarest of cases and in the most vital of areas. (We must take a practical view of the world as it is, and are therefore compelled to avoid extremes of virtue in order to survive.)" This early admission should prepare the reader for these two sentences in the last chapter: "To practice extremes of Christian doctrine would be suicidal in the modern world, but a reasonable measure of Christian ethics has become necessary for survival." "It is fortunate for humanity that survival can be purchased at a price far below the extremes of Christian doctrine."

There is other evidence that the author has failed to come to terms with the moral demands of a universalistic ethic as well as with the depths of tragedy and urgency inherent in the arms race and cold war.

—Paul Deats Jr.

New Insight on Collective Security

Waging Peace: the Swiss Experience by William Bross Lloyd Jr. Public Affairs Press 1958. 101 pp., $2.50.

Despite the wealth of American historical research in this century there have been very few contributions directed at furthering understanding of the problems of war and peace. Historians have generally failed to ask pertinent questions about this area of human experience and to look for answers. Historical research has been determined by the idiosyncrasies and antiquarian interests of the historian, by his desire to buttress certain political or economic views, and particularly recently by the salability of the final product. In the great flood of books currently glorifying the American Civil War and exploring its minutiae one would be lucky to find one volume out of a hundred which seeks to comprehend why that tragic conflict took place.

William Lloyd's approach to Swiss history provides a healthy contrast. He went to Switzerland to find out why these people had developed the outlook sometimes critically described as "neutral against everybody." He soon discovered that the concept of neutrality in European affairs was in large part the reflection of the role which neutrality played in internal affairs.

The first three Swiss cantons joined in 1291 to form a defense pact against the Habsburgs. Ten others added their signatures to additional pacts within a few decades to form a thirteen-canton federation which lasted three centuries before submission to Napoleonic rule. The existence of a common enemy did little to eliminate political, economic, ethnic and religious conflicts between the cantons and the federation was frequently torn by internal wars. The wisest men saw, however, that these disputes might be better solved by compromises produced by the mediation of a neutral canton. This responsibility was not only written into federal pacts; in the early twentieth century three new cantons, Basel, Schaffhausen and Appenzell were designated as carrying the responsibility of *still-sitzen* (sitting still). They were to remain officially neutral in cantonal disputes and bring about peace. This provision helped Catholic and Protestant cantons to avoid the evils of the Thirty Years War, 1618-1648, which decimated the population of neighboring German states while raising Switzerland to a new level of prosperity.

In 1919 Swiss delegates to Paris tried to get a provision in the League of Nations covenant for permanently neutral states who would play an active role as mediators. The proposal was rejected and Switzerland joined the League only with the understanding that there would be no participation in collective military action.

The provisions for collective action in the United Nations Charter have prevented Switzerland from joining that organization. This is an unfortunate loss to the world organization and Mr. Lloyd concludes his thoughtful little book with some suggestions for Charter changes which would permit Swiss membership and give some application of the Swiss experience of mediation to contemporary world conflicts.

William L. Neumann

EADERS OF NEW NATIONS by Leonard S. enworthy. Doubleday 1959. 336 pp., 3.50.

Probably few people are more qualified nan Leonard Kenworthy to give a per-onal bird's-eye view of leaders of many of ne new nations of the world. He has trav-led widely, done international work with ne Quakers and with UNESCO, and into nis collection of brief biographies put nany years of research as well as personal nterviewing and observation. It is not sur-rising, then, that from all this has emerged series of portraits drawn accurately, hu-nanly, fairly, and perhaps in some cases ven too kindly. For in Mr. Kenworthy's bvious desire to write simply and with oodwill, there is sometimes a blandness nd oversimplification which is perhaps onsidered palatable for the general reader ut is not entirely satisfying to one who nay want a somewhat sharper and more orceful, openly opinionated, analysis of hese leaders and their actions.

Perhaps where so much ground is to be overed as Mr. Kenworthy tries to cover in hese fourteen biographies, however, one an hardly go into the subtleties of per-onalities and problems with any great de-ree of literary acumen. All of these lead-rs—Bourguiba, Mohammed V, and Nkru-nah, of Africa; Ben Gurion, Hussein, Jin-nah, and Nasser of the Middle East; Diem, Magsaysay, Nehru, Nu, Rahman, Senanay-ake, and Sukarno of Asia—emerge as "good guys" despite certain faults and er-rors. Basically most people are, perhaps, nd one would certainly prefer to believe his particularly of these men who are lead-ing (or have recently led—several are now lead) the new nations of the world, so many of which have been in colonial bond-ge, underprivileged, and all but ignored by the "great powers" of the world. The adjectives "remarkable, splendid, stirring, courageous, dedicated" and so on abound in Mr. Kenworthy's own descriptions of most of these leaders.

The most positive aspect of this collec-tion is the service it renders in focusing attention on so many important political leaders on the international scene about whom the average American—and indeed even many well-informed Americans—know so little. A few, of course, such as Nehru and Nasser, have been given fairly wide, if not very sympathetic, coverage by the American press, and are therefore some-what known to most people. But just as Mr. Kenworthy in a previous group of bi-ographies, *Twelve Citizens of the World,* brought to light the lives of such dedicated people as Ceresole, Nansen, and Sarmiento along with better-known personalities such as Gandhi and Schweitzer, so has he in "Leaders of New Nations" linked such men as Diem of Vietnam and Senanayake of Ceylon to the chain of man and events which we have seen forged in the fires of nationalism igniting Asia and Africa since World War II. The book is illustrated by Sam Kweskin. —ANN MORRISSETT

pamphlet reviews

• *The Covenant of Peace* by Maurice Friedman. 32 pp., 35¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

The Jewish religious philosopher, Martin Buber, has attained a world significance transcending the boundaries of Judaism; indeed Buber was included in a recent survey of ten contemporary Protestant thinkers—the only one among them who was not literally a Protestant. Maurice Friedman's pamphlet shows the impact of Buber's personalism and existentialism on an American FOR member and wartime CPS man. After describing his own spiritual pilgrimage from a brittle Sunday-school-morality type of pacifism to his discovery of Buber, Friedman presents an eloquent exposition of his present, Buberian position. To reject moral absolutism, he makes clear, is not to reject morality but to see it as a relation to the only authentic absolute, which is God. What he is saying, roughly summarized, is that abstract, "objective" judgments are spurious; what counts is our commitment in relation to the actual situation we are in. Friedman's message, like Buber's, is "dialogical" between God and man, and between man and man. It is thoroughly "down to earth" in its insistence on relevance, but it is equally as much committed "for the sake of heaven" as for the benefit of man. Indeed it is just here that existential, religious pacifism is most telling and insightful, for it weds social action and worship in a marriage of love and integrity rather than of convenience or expediency. We are all aware of the incompleteness of both the shrill activist and the silent pietist. Friedman gets beyond both to the image of the person

who is "in the world, but not of it." What he says is two thousand years old or more, but we all need to hear it again, and the freshness of his presentation makes his pamphlet unusually valuable. The editors at Pendle Hill deserve our gratitude for making this restatement of pacifism available.

• *National Health Insurance* by Michael M. Davis. 19 pp., 10¢. Order from: League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St., New York 3, N. Y.

"Voluntary insurance," says Dr. Davis in this pamphlet, "after twenty years of effort, has left 60 million persons entirely unreached." Thus, even in times of prosperity, ill health is a threat many Americans cannot afford to face. What is needed, Dr. Davis says, is a national health plan supported by payroll deductions like those now made for social security. Administration of services, however—including much-needed preventive care—would be on a state and local basis, with both government and voluntary organizations taking part, and with freedom of all persons to chose and to change physicians or organized groups of physicians.

Besides greatly helping to clarify the issues, this pamphlet closes with a two-page bibliography for those who want to go into the question more thoroughly.

• *Inside Formosa* by Thomas W. I. Liao. 76 pp. Order from: The Formosa Press, Taisei Bldg., 17, 3-chome, Shintomi-cho, Chuo-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

Eight million people are hapless victims in the struggle between Chinese Communists and Chinese Nationalists over the island of Formosa or Taiwan. These are the Formosans. Dr. Liao is a spokesman for an independence movement seeking the establishment of a democratic Republic of Formosa.

Briefly Dr. Liao describes the discovery and subjugation of Formosa in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch. In 1661 an independent kingdom was established only to be conquered in 1683 by the Chinese Empire. In 1895, Chinese sovereignty over Formosa was transferred to Japan. The Formosans seized this opportunity to declare their independence and establish the first republic in the Far East and fought Japanese rule openly for two years, as well as in some 15 armed uprisings during the following half century.

The bulk of this pamphlet deals with events following the return of Formosa to Chinese rule after World War II, when it became transformed rapidly into what Dr. Liao calls a "Devil's Island"—a haven for millions of refugees in the Chinese Civil War and the military bastion from which Chiang Kai-shek hopes to reconquer the mainland.

In conclusion, Dr. Liao calls for a plebiscite under UN supervision, which he believes would restore Formosa's long- and often-lost independence.

The issues raised by this pamphlet are too often forgotten in our discussions of Far Eastern affairs. Any just and durable peace in that area will have to reckon with the long-frustrated aspirations of these eight million people.

• *The Bus Doesn't Stop at 101.* 23 pp., 25¢. Order from: Committee for Return of Confiscated German and Japanese Property, 906 National Press Bldg., Washington 4, D. C.

Most Americans are unaware that their government is still conducting punitive measures against German and Japanese nationals by confiscating their private property. Between 1948 and 1953 the United States seized the property of 300,000 Germans and Japanese—including a North Dakota state senator's daughter—to the tune of $630 million. Among the members of the committee that sponsored this pamphlet are Harry Elmer Barnes, Kenneth Boulding, Learned Hand and William Ernest Hocking.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS by FOR members

Beginning with this issue, we shall list, from time to time, publishing data on new books and pamphlets by members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. We count on members to bring such information to our attention, since our resources do not permit an effort to track down all such publications.

BOOKS

Land of Eldorado by Sante Uberto Barbieri (New York: Friendship Press, paper $1.50, cloth $2.95).

Doing What is Christian by Harold A. Bosley (Nashville: Abingdon Press, $1).

Love: The Issue by Charles Burnell Olds (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, $3).

Peace and Power by Daniel Taylor (ed.) (Washington, D. C.: Methodist Publishing House, paper $1). Includes essays by FOR members Bishop A. Raymond Grant, Kenneth S. Maxwell, Carl D. Soule, John M. Swomley Jr., Douglas V. Steere, Herman Will Jr.

Under Orders: The Churches and Public Problems by Roswell G. Barnes (New York: Doubleday, $2.95).

In Christ by E. Stanley Jones (Nashville: Abingdon, $2.50).

The Reconciling Gospel by Cuthbert G. Rutenber (Phila.: Judson, paper, $1.50).

PAMPHLETS

Death and the Christian Answer by Mary Elv Lyman (Wallingford, Pa.: Pendle Hill, 35¢)

LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

The SANE Controversy

ear Editors:

As a member of the Fellowship of Reconiiation, I must indicate that your editorial in e January 1 issue of FELLOWSHIP is erroneous n several counts.

1. Even as to the objectives of SANE, you ould know that more than two years ago ey were broadened to include the whole ld of disarmament from the narrower goal a treaty on the cessation of atomic weapons sts.

2. "SANE's troubles began," you suggest, with nator Dodd. They began at least a year ear- er when we found ourselves with a popular ovement on our hands and no machinery to revent its infiltration by Communists.

3. Thus a year before Dodd's attack on our ommittee we decided to clean our own house, ut so far there has not been an expulsion "of substantial number of members." Out of ur National Board of Directors and National ponsors, totaling 85 persons, exactly three ave resigned. To date only one person has een expelled.

4. The "arrangement" you indicate SANE ade with Senator Dodd is unrecognizable to me of us who have been members of the ational Board and thus have been most reponsible for policy. On May 26, 1960 the Naional Board clearly stated: "As a matter of emocratic principle and practice we resent the ntrusion of a congressional committee into the ffairs of an organization which during its ntire life has acted only in accordance with ts declared principles. The Committee itself is ntirely capable of carrying out its principles nd guaranteeing that it will not permit their etrayal or subversion under any pressure rom, on the one hand, investigations directed o its hurt, or, on the other, by the actions of ts own local chapters or their leaders." This udgment still stands.

The National Board of SANE may have made ome errors in judgment, but they were made y such veterans of liberal movements (and OR members) as Clarence Pickett, Donald arrington, and Isidor Hoffman, all of whom emain active in SANE as I do. And in the past ix months SANE has sponsored more programs nd other activity than ever before in its hree-year history.

HOMER A. JACK,
Executive Director,
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy
New York, N.Y.

Dear Editors:

As an ex-member of the Executive Committee of the Greater New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, a position to which I was delegated by my local chapter, I feel that I must comment on the FELLOWSHIP item on the trouble in SANE.

In discussing the "arrangements" that Mr. Cousins negotiated with the Dodd Committee, you note that SANE's agreement to clean its own house resulted in the expulsion of a substantial number of members of varying degrees of influence. I submit that most readers would interpret this to mean that a substantial number of members were expelled individually, and this, of course, is not the case.

On the contrary, far the largest number of people were ousted under a blanket expulsion. On November 7, 1960, the National Board passed a resolution that the Greater New York Committee request in writing, on or before November 15, 1960, that the Charter of the New York Committee be terminated and New York reorganized into a coordinating council of local committees. The same resolution provided that if the New York Committee did not submit this written request before the required date, the Charter would be automatically terminated.

The National Committee's resolution was presented to the Greater New York Executive Committee on November 9, and a motion to return the charter was passed by a vote of 9 for, 7 against, and 21 abstentions.

Following the lifting of the Charter, the National Committee issued by-laws and invited local chapters to become chartered. In a well-attended meeting, our local committee decided not to apply for a charter. The enclosed letter notified all people on our mailing list of this decision and the events leading to it.

RECONCILIATION QUARTERLY

(*formerly* CHRISTUS VICTOR)

MAGAZINE OF
INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Published in London and edited from the perspective of pacifist Christianity, this international magazine is a stimulating companion to *Fellowship*. Contributors to recent issues include Charles E. Raven, Joost de Blank, L. John Collins, Howard Schomer, Hans Thirring, S. K. Nishimura, John W. Sadiq and Anders Nygren.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION 4 ISSUES: $1

RECONCILIATION QUARTERLY
American IFOR Office
Box 271 • Nyack, N.Y.

Frankly, I have no wish to rejoin SANE. The last months, with their suspicion, mistrust and unkindness were no inducement to further activity with them. Nor have I seen indications that this atmosphere has changed.

DOROTHY M. BISHOP
Jackson Heights, N. Y.

Dear Editors:

Register me as one who dissents from the opinion expressed in your editorial critical of SANE. Your editorial did not point up the basic issue at stake, namely whether SANE was to develop into a United Front with the Communists at the local levels or whether it was to locally agree with its national board excluding Communists and those whose allegiance is to a government outside of the U.S.

I have no love for certain positions of Senator Dodd but the SANE conversations with him helped SANE to do what it should have done from the very first, namely make clear that both at the national and local level Communists were not welcome.

I know that the FOR has a long tradition of opposing the United Front due to bitter experience. It may divide the peace forces if one considers the Communists and their sympathizers such peace forces. But there must be such division if our appeal is to be based upon the merits of the case and not becloud the issue by suspicions that the peace movement is taking the stand because it will help Russia.

This is not to say that the Communists everywhere might not see that an atomic war would wipe them out just as much as anyone else. They should work for peace especially through influence on governments which express their philosophy. But our influence for peace can only be effective *here* as we clearly stand for peace as believers in democracy.

JOHN M. MECARTNEY
Secretary, River Falls Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (Committee for Human Survival)
River Falls, Wis.

ED. NOTE: The above unsolicited response to our remarks about developments in SANE would seem to justify the editorial comment we made. Rather than take up further space and add fuel to the fire, we refer our readers to the editorial in question and hope that the energies being channeled into this internecine strife among peacemakers may be turned toward the urgently needed task of making peace.

Commendation

Dear Editors:

Editorial comments *In Context* and Peace Information Edition always "wonderful"—truly so. However, in November issue, your "Pray for Peace" and "You're Another!" are so outstandingly superior that I cannot refrain from this special word of commendation and appreciation. They are definitely realistic and at same time warmly personal. I find them deeply moving. Thanks.

CHAS. A. MCCALMON
Ashland, Oregon

THAT MEN MAY LIVE . . . in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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POLARIS ACTION:
New London

POLARIS ACTION: New London tells the story of nonviolent direct action against the arms race, focusing sharply on last fall's demonstrations at the New London submarine base, where members of the Committee for Non-Violent Action pitted the unarmed power of truth and love against missile-bearing submarines, bringing the message of pacifism to ship-yard workers on land and to crewmen of the submarine in boats like the one shown at left. Seeing this film is an exciting experience. It is authentic in every detail. Polaris Action: New London is not an amateur production, but the work of Hilary Harris, Ray Wisniewski and Saul Gottlieb, a group of prize-winning professional film-makers. See it for yourself—and show it to the unconvinced. Narration by Francis Witlin; 11 min., black-and-white. RENTALS: $5 single showing; $15 full week.

ALTERNATIVES answers many questions about conscientious objection. The first and only film of its kind, it explains clearly why men choose alternatives to military service, using both filmograph technique and live action sequences showing actual COs doing typical Alternative Service work in hospitals, overseas relief projects and the like. Every young man facing the draft should see this film. Narration by actor Don Murray; 24 min., color. RENTALS: $7.50 single showing; $20 full week. Prints may be purchased at $125 each.

FATE OF A CHILD lays bare the urgent need for world economic and social development, dramatizing this by telling about the death of a child in a small Mexican community. This death and many others like it need never have happened, and could have been avoided if more money were spent for human welfare instead of weapons. Produced by the United Nations; 17 min., black-and-white with sound. RENTALS: $5 single showing; full week $15.

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